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NUMBER 4

Changing Fertility Differentials.....Margaret Jarman Hagood

Mutual Aid.....J. V. Freitas Marcondes

Rural Social Organization.....Robert E. Galloway

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Changing Fertility Differentials Among Farm-Operator Families In Relation To Economic Size Of Farm*

By Margaret Jarman Hagood†

ABSTRACT

Special tabulations of population data from the 1945 Sample Census of Agriculture provide the basis for computing fertility ratios for the farm population classified according to economic size of farm lived on. States vary in the relationship between fertility of farm families and economic class, some showing the traditional negative relationship, others showing no clear direction of relationship, and still others showing a positive relationship. Among the last group, selected States showed a greater rise in the birth rate during World War II among high income farm operator families than among low income families.

The level and course of birth rates in the prewar decade, during World War II, and thus far into the postwar period have received increasing attention from the general public and from population analysts in the United States and other countries. Dramatic changes in current fertility rates have no doubt played a part in stimulating recent re-examination by several writers of some of the conventional measures used for levels and trends in population replacement.¹ In the Uni-

ted States, for example, within the 15 years 1933-47 fertility measured on a current basis has ranged from levels "below replacement" — if continued for a long time—to levels that if continued would maintain rapid growth of the population ad infinitum. Population statisticians have seen their statistics documenting both types of

J. Hajnal, "The Analysis of Birth Statistics in the Light of the Recent International Recovery of the Birth Rate," *Population Studies*, I (Sept. 1947), 137-164.

Alfred J. Lotka, "Evaluation of the Methods of Measuring Net Fertility," Paper presented at the Demographic Statistics Section of the International Statistical Institute, International Statistical Conferences, Washington, D. C., Sept. 18, 1947.

Christopher Tietze, "Differential Reproduction in the United States: Paternity Rate for Occupational Classes Among the Urban White Population," *American Journal of Sociology*, XL, (Nov. 1943), 242-247.

P. K. Whelpton, "Is Family Size Increasing? An Analysis of Order of Birth Statistics for Native White Mothers, United States, 1920 to 1946," U. S. National Office of Vital Statistics, *Vital Statistics Special Reports*, Vol. 23, No. 16, Aug. 27, 1947.

—, "Reproduction Rates Adjusted for Age, Parity, Fecundity, and Marriage," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXXI, (Dec. 1946), 501-516.

T. J. Woofter, Jr., "Completed Generation Reproduction Rates," *Human Biology*, XIX, (Sept. 1947).

* Paper read to the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Philadelphia, Pa., May 22, 1948. The data in this paper are from a project of the U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics under the direction of Carl C. Taylor. Special acknowledgment is due the following members of the staff of the Bureau of the Census for their cooperation in the project: Ray Hurley, Chief, Agriculture Division, for making available unpublished materials from the 1945 Census of Agriculture Sample; Harold Nisselson for computing sampling errors; Wilson H. Grabill for advising on standardization procedures. Acknowledgment is also made to Nettie P. Bradshaw, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, for statistical assistance.

† U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

¹ Important recent contributions on methods of measuring fertility and population replacement methods include the following:

situations used and misused by propagandist groups which have ends to be served by frightening the public either over the dire consequences of a prospective declining population and eventual extinction, or over the ever-increasing drains on natural resources that would result from a continued growth in population. Protagonists on either side can document their case by the fertility record of some part of the last 15 years.

Significant advances have been made in development of more stable measures for reflecting fertility than the conventional annual net reproduction rate and as these measures come into wider use, the public may get a less confused picture of current and prospective future performance of the population with respect to replacement. But even with the most refined data and methods of measurement of population replacement available to the most sophisticated population analyst, precise projections or predictions into the future are still not achievable. It is quite possible that they may never be. Nevertheless, the great practical significance of future levels and rates of change of a country's population offers a challenge to demographers to analyze past changes in their components so that the effects of different factors on different groups can be better understood and provide a better basis for predicting that, given the operation of specified factors in the future, such and such effects on the fertility of specified groups would be likely to occur, while different effects would be expected in other groups.

The writer shares with many others the following general interpretation of fertility trends in the United States. From an earlier state of large family tradition, a minimum of family-limitation practices, and very high fertility levels there has been a transition over many decades to a fairly generally accepted small-family pattern, wide practice of family limitation, and comparatively low fertility levels. The "long-time downward trend in the birthrate" has been brought about as an increasing proportion of the nation's families adopted the idea of the small family and then, with increasing success, the practice of family limitation. In the past, the factor of overwhelming importance was the shifting of families from the non-family-limitation to the family-limitation group—a shift which may have occurred in several stages and may have taken more than one generation for a given family and its progeny. Data are not available to plot the distribution of families at present according to the degree to which they have made this shift², but one can infer from Census statistics on number of children ever born or on birth statistics by order of birth that it can be only a relatively

² In the Indianapolis study conducted by the Committee on Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility, it was found that among "relatively fecund" couples, 42.1 per cent had had the number of children they had planned and an additional 31.4 percent claimed to have had no more than desired, with only 26.5 percent having more children than wanted, and about three-fourths of these having only "one too many." P. K. Whelpton, and Clyde V. Kiser, "Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility: VI The Planning of Fertility", *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XXV, (Jan. 1947), 63-111.

small fraction of the families of the nation who have not made a substantial shift from the very large family pattern.³

Even though statistics are not available to document precisely the extent to which the families of the United States have achieved control of their family size, it is obvious that this factor cannot have anything like the amount of influence in the future that it has had in the past in its effect on the course of the birth rate. Of much more importance will be the various factors that affect the size of family which married couples want and feel they can afford and care for. These factors may be divided into those making for larger and those making for smaller families. Of the first sort are the joys and satisfactions of parenthood, other values inherent in religion or other aspects of the culture of a group, the ability to afford the initial costs of having a child, and the sense of economic security that leads couples to believe they will be able to support and educate another child until his maturity. Of the second sort are the trouble, work, and personal inconveniences of child care, and the immediate and long-time expense involved. In addition, the direction of effect of certain factors re-

lated to war and national security is not always predicable.

Some of these factors that are now operating to affect levels of fertility and which will perhaps operate more importantly in the future, as the once primary factor diminishes in importance, present difficult and perhaps insuperable measurement problems. Moreover, as several factors operate simultaneously, even if they were measurable, the allocation of given effects on manifested fertility to the several factors might not be possible. Nevertheless, beginnings can be made by attempting to analyze differential responses in fertility among groups to given situations that combine various factors.

For example, T. J. Woofter, Jr. in "Trends in Rural and Urban Fertility Rates," has re-examined available data and found between 1910 and 1940 "some widening of the gap between birth rates on the farm and in the city" instead of the reverse, as has been commonly assumed, although he concludes that migration may be obscuring changes in indigenous fertility.⁴

It is with a similar approach that the data on farm-operator families presented here have been examined. Current differentials among economic classes of a group relatively homogeneous (occupationally and geographically) gave rise to questions as to how the differentials changed in sharply contrasting situations.

³In 1940, the proportion of women ever married just completing the child-bearing period (aged 45-49 years) who had borne more than 6 children was less than 10 percent, while nearly four-fifths had borne not more than 4 children. 16th Census of the United States, *Population, Differential Fertility, 1940 and 1910: Women by Number of Children Ever Born*, Washington, 1944, p. 7.

⁴T. J. Woofter, Jr., "Trends in Rural and Urban Fertility Rates," *Rural Sociology*, XIII, (March 1948), 3-9.

Special tabulations from the 1945 Census of Agriculture Sample provide data by age and sex that permit computation of the conventional fertility ratios—number of children under 5 years of age per 1,000 women aged 20-44—for the farm population in January 1945 classified by economic size of farm lived on.⁵ As defined in the 1945 Census, the farm population included households of resident farm operators, landlords, relatives of operator, and hired workers living on farms, and households having other connections with the farm lived on but not other households living in rented dwellings on farms.⁶

The classification of population into seven classes according to the "economic size" of farm lived on represents only an approximation to a classification by total family income, even for farm operator households. It should be recognized that in the four highest classes (Class I through Class IV) some farm operator families have income from nonagricultural sources and others do not. Also, all

operators in Class V reported 100 days or more of work for pay or profit off the farm in 1944 and in many cases this may have increased the family's total income above that of families in higher farm income brackets. Moreover, Class VII includes not only the lowest income group but also some miscellaneous farms. For these reasons some irregularities in relationships are to be expected.

Comparisons of fertility ratios computed from the 1945 Census of Agriculture Sample with ratios from the 1940 Population Census or from results of current sample surveys suggest that there was considerable underenumeration of children under 5 years of age in the former. It is likely that the underenumeration was greater on the low income farms than on the high income farms since previous checks on underenumeration have shown that underenumeration is higher in areas of low income.⁷ The fertility ratios presented for the lower income classes are probably biased downward because of differential underenumeration. However, one would expect the bias to be less in the case of the ratios restricted to the population in farm operator households (as shown in tables 3 and 4) than in the case of ratios for the total farm population (as shown in table 1), because the report on operator's households was probably more frequently given

⁵ This classification, developed jointly by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Bureau of the Census, is based on combined criteria of value of farm products sold or used by farm households in 1944 and the 1945 value of the farm land and buildings, and, in the case of the three lowest classes, information on off-farm work of the farm operator in 1944. Group VII contains some miscellaneous farms. For a more precise statement on the classification, see *United States Census of Agriculture, 1945, Special Report, 1945 Sample Census of Agriculture*, pp. 15-16.

⁶ This last class of households was included in the 1940 Population Census definition of the farm population and is included in the definitions used in the current surveys and series of the Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

⁷ See 16th Census of the United States, *Population, Differential Fertility 1940 and 1910, Standardized Fertility Rates and Reproduction Rates*, Washington, 1944, Appendix A, "Completeness of Enumeration of Children Under 5 years old in the Censuses of 1940 and 1910," pp. 32-33.

TABLE 1. RATIO OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE TO 1,000 WOMEN AGED 20-44 IN THE FARM POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY ECONOMIC SIZE OF FARM LIVED ON, UNITED STATES, MAJOR GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS AND STATES, JANUARY 1945.¹

Area	All farms	Economic size class ²						
		I	II	III	IV	V (off-farm work)	VI	VII
United States	629	630	619	616	649	636	631	607
New England	495	486	543	508	553	514	471	416
N. New England	584	697	634	600	641	604	512	480
S. New England	396	361	443	374	436	412	403	366
Middle Atlantic	550	604	589	537	549	563	562	508
New York	566	649	625	564	568	601	552	459
New Jersey	416	503	457	389	337	454	236	436
Pennsylvania	561	622	603	535	567	553	593	549
East North Central	589	605	623	605	576	585	474	579
Ohio	546	787	677	588	488	511	410	527
Indiana	593	636	645	533	647	577	495	609
Illinois	544	562	567	572	486	581	424	503
Michigan	628	551	673	661	592	643	525	669
Wisconsin	655	620	678	652	654	689	586	655
West North Central	640	652	645	654	638	596	588	602
Minnesota	734	737	804	731	719	756	721	671
Iowa	653	715	649	645	715	413	620	592
Missouri	589	566	622	592	585	613	581	567
North Dakota	735	819	655	734	791	758	841	967
South Dakota	659	789	659	616	688	861	673	918
Nebraska	598	603	537	634	600	570	490	513
Kansas	540	541	600	581	494	464	359	523
South Atlantic	676	656	667	667	710	685	646	642
Delaware-Maryland	545	635	569	518	621	496	394	540
Virginia	654	740	645	612	650	737	611	626
West Virginia	659	602	691	746	645	720	525	655
North Carolina	684	684	791	718	705	667	608	628
South Carolina	752	688	688	680	797	705	735	765
Georgia	687	687	637	678	730	621	688	622
Florida	606	550	753	533	593	666	632	599
East South Central	677	589	573	604	677	734	684	681
Kentucky	679	591	626	538	627	846	690	734
Tennessee	614	595	577	544	592	695	608	652
Alabama	704	686	538	707	721	666	726	683
Mississippi	709	461	420	787	736	710	700	641
West South Central	616	652	603	582	640	596	613	616
Arkansas	635	529	571	726	661	611	565	669
Louisiana	685	778	790	711	721	712	638	594
Oklahoma	649	576	656	573	697	637	694	628
Texas	567	627	549	524	561	542	607	592

TABLE 1. (Continued)

Area	All farms	Economic size class ²						
		I	II	III	IV	V (off-farm work)	VI	VII
Mountain	655	695	645	662	654	616	614	666
Montana	670	599	698	660	742	571	550	669
Idaho	693	711	730	692	676	546	808	729
Wyoming	593	505	416	665	693	667	646	591
Colorado	603	671	568	600	631	523	542	602
New Mexico	623	755	525	586	546	656	578	693
Arizona	673	809	649	737	517	566	523	687
Utah	747	843	864	788	702	721	730	638
Nevada	653	658	602	500	788	875	598	400
Pacific	531	606	540	453	523	595	534	461
Washington	565	520	609	496	568	601	565	568
Oregon	544	577	649	514	503	567	645	488
California	508	628	493	410	503	612	387	393

¹ Ratios computed from unpublished tabulations of information obtained in the household section of the 1945 Census of Agriculture from the "master sample" and "large" farms.

² This classification, developed jointly by the BAE and the Census, is based on combined criteria of value of farm products sold or used by farm households in 1944 and the 1945 value of the farm land and buildings, and, in case of the three lowest classes, information on off-farm work of the farm operator in 1944. Group VII contains some miscellaneous farms. For a more precise statement on the classification, see *United States Census of Agriculture, 1945, Special Report, 1945 Sample Census of Agriculture*, pp. 15-16.

by a member of the household than in the case of nonoperator households.

The fertility ratios computed for seven economic classes of farms in each State gave a rather mixed picture, with some States showing a negative relationship of fertility with economic class, others showing a positive relationship, and a greater number showing no clear-cut relationship, positive or negative (table 1). Examination of the distribution of households by connection with the farm lived on revealed that the great majority of hired workers' households were on the higher income farms and that fertility ratios for the farm population living on these farms reflected a mixture of fertility of farm-opera-

tor, farm-laborer, and other types of families. In Ohio, for example, 49.5 percent of all households living on Class I farms (those with \$20,000 or more value of products sold, traded or used by farm households in 1944, or with a lesser value of production if the current value of land and buildings exceeded \$70,000) were farm-laborer families, compared with less than 1 percent on the two lowest classes (table 2).

Even with this element of heterogeneity keeping the fertility ratios of the farm population from reflecting solely fertility of farm operator families, certain geographic differences in the relationships were apparent from the ratios computed for the total farm

population. In the Southern States, a negative relationship of fertility and economic size of farm lived on was more common, while the tendency to a positive relationship was clearest in Ohio and New York and evident with some irregularities in other urbanized Northern States.

Because the positive relationship, which existed after the fertility ratios had been adjusted for the age composition of women within the age range 20-44 years, departed from the traditionally observed inverse relationship of fertility and economic status, special tabulations were carried out for Ohio and New York. Fertility ratios were then computed for the population in households of farm operators who lived on the farms they operated (table 3). In Ohio, the strong positive relationship still held, although in New York the relatively higher ratios for the two top classes

were sharply lowered, showing that it was the high fertility of farm laborer and other nonoperator families that had caused high ratios in the total population on these farms.

The 1945 Census of Agriculture was taken as of January 1945, a time during World War II when the maximum number of men were out of the civilian population and engaged in military service. In many cases this led to a young wife, whose husband was in the armed forces, living with her parents or parents-in-law, with the result that fertility ratios were affected by both primary and secondary families in the household. Also the presence of grandchildren living in the household without their mother affected the fertility ratios for the resident farm-operator population. Consequently additional tabulations were made to permit the computation of ratios of children of head of household under 5

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPIED DWELLINGS ON FARMS BY CONNECTION WITH THE FARM, FOR FARMS CLASSIFIED BY ECONOMIC SIZE CLASS, OHIO, JANUARY 1945.¹

Economic size class ²	Total	Operator	Owner or landlord	Relative of operator	Hired worker	Other and unspecified
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
All classes	100.0	91.5	1.6	2.3	3.3	1.3
I	100.0	39.3	2.4	3.7	49.5	4.5
II	100.0	69.6	4.5	8.5	15.0	2.4
III	100.0	90.0	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.0
IV	100.0	95.5	1.2	1.3	1.3	.7
V (off-farm work)	100.0	96.6	.2	.5	1.4	1.3
VI	100.0	96.9	.5	1.9	.5	.2
VII	100.0	96.6	.6	1.5	.7	.6

¹ Data are from unpublished tabulations of information obtained in the household section of the 1945 Census of Agriculture from a sample of the "master sample" farms and "large" farms.

² This classification, developed jointly by the BAE and the Census, is based on combined criteria of value of farm products sold or used by farm households in 1944 and the 1945 value of the farm land and buildings, and, in the case of the three lowest classes, information on off-farm work of the farm operator in 1944. Group VII contains some miscellaneous farms. For a more precise statement on the classification, see *United States Census of Agriculture, 1945, Special Report, 1945 Sample Census of Agriculture*, pp. 15-16.

years of age to wives of head aged 20-44 years and female heads aged 20-44. These ratios are shown in the last two columns of table 3, unadjusted and adjusted for age composition of women in the child bearing ages. In Ohio, it is clear that the association of fertility with economic class is positive for primary families in resident farm-operator households. Each of the

three highest classes has a ratio higher than the average of 689 per 1,000 for all classes and each of the four lowest classes has a lower ratio than the average. The results are based on a sample and differences between adjacent classes are in general not significant. Nevertheless, the excess of the ratio of 789 for the three top classes combined, over the ratio of

TABLE 3. COMPARISONS OF RATIOS OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE PER 1,000 WOMEN AGED 20-44 IN THE FARM POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY ECONOMIC SIZE OF FARM LIVED ON, OHIO AND NEW YORK, JANUARY 1945.¹

State and Economic Size Class ²	Total farm population		Farm operator households			
	Unadjusted	Standardized for age composition of women 20-44 years ³	Unadjusted	Standardized for age composition of women 20-44 years ³	Ratio of children of head under 5 to 1,000 wives of head and female heads 20-44 years	
					Unadjusted	Standardized for age ³
Ohio—all classes	546	546	558	558	689	689
I	787	799	707	743	865	912
II	677	639	678	645	882	828
III	588	581	622	613	761	747
IV	488	486	508	506	623	633
V (off-farm work)	511	524	542	550	618	619
VI	410	420	421	434	636	682
VII	527	543	522	537	630	649
New York—all classes	566	566	539	539	686	686
I	649	637	372	331	573	589
II	625	620	567	570	736	769
III	564	551	547	535	708	674
IV	568	573	551	555	768	813
V (off-farm work)	601	620	601	618	665	665
VI	552	566	542	552	785	841
VII	459	465	449	450	537	537

¹ Ratios computed from unpublished tabulations of information obtained in the household section of the 1945 Census of Agriculture from the "master sample" and "large" farms.

² This classification, developed jointly by the BAE and the Census, is based on combined criteria of value of farm products sold or used by farm households in 1944 and the 1945 value of the farm land and buildings, and, in the case of the three lowest classes, information on off-farm work of the farm operator in 1944. Group VII contains some miscellaneous farms. For a more precise statement on the classification, see *United States Census of Agriculture, 1945, Special Report, 1945 Sample Census of Agriculture*, pp. 15-16.

³ An indirect process of standardization was used with the age composition of all women in the 1945 farm population of the State as the standard, and the pattern of age-specific fertility ratios among 5-year age groups of the rural-farm population of the United States in 1940 assumed to hold among the women on the farms of each economic size class in 1945.

624 for the four bottom classes combined, is 27 percent and this indication of the direction of the association is significant. In New York, the association is not clear-cut and the ratio of 709 for the top three classes exceeds that of 677 for the bottom four classes by a much smaller percentage.

These ratios reflect birth rates from January 1, 1940 through December 31, 1944. The latter half of the period was one of extraordinary prosperity for farmers in the United States. In Ohio, the average realized net income from farming operations (including government payments) per farm operator was 168 percent higher in 1944 than in 1939 on an unadjusted basis, or 95 percent higher when adjusted for changes in prices farmers pay for commodities used for living. The question arose as to how this increase in income along with other factors of a wartime situation might have affected the pattern of fertility differentials among farm-operator families within a State.

Accordingly, ratios were computed that would approximate a measure of the fertility of these same families in the 1935-39 period, namely ratios of children aged 5-9 years to women aged 25-49 years. Weaknesses in the measures for the purpose at hand are clearly recognized. Two of the more important are that the underenumeration of children aged 5-9 years was probably much less in the 1945 Census of Agriculture than the underenumeration of children under 5 years of age, and that the 1945 classification of family by income position in 1945

may not be at all correct for the 1935-39 period.

In both Ohio and New York, the higher income groups showed greater increases in fertility from depression to the prosperous war period than the lower income groups (table 4). With the three upper classes combined and the four lower classes combined the results can be briefly summarized as follows (recognizing that due to underenumeration of children under 5 years of age, the comparison of "fertility" ratios for the two periods understates the increase that actually took place). In Ohio, the high-income group fertility ratio increased by 20 percent, while the low-income group ratio increased by only 2 percent. In New York, the corresponding changes were an increase of 17 percent and a decrease of 2 percent.

Clearly the upper income groups manifested a greater increase in fertility in response to changed conditions than did the low-income groups. Several factors may have operated to produce these differentials in response.

(1) Because the upper income groups probably had better techniques at their command for controlling fertility during the depression, there may have been more "postponed" births in this group which made for a sharper increase in fertility when times became good.

(2) In the upper income groups, the husband may have been more frequently able to qualify for an agricultural deferment from Selec-

TABLE 4. COMPARISONS OF FERTILITY RATIOS REFLECTING MARRIED FERTILITY OF PRIMARY FAMILY IN 1935-39 AND 1940-44, FOR RESIDENT FARM OPERATOR HOUSEHOLDS CLASSIFIED BY ECONOMIC SIZE OF FARM LIVED ON, OHIO AND NEW YORK, JANUARY 1945.¹

State and economic size class ²	1935-39 fertility ratio ³	1940-44 fertility ratio ⁴	Change 1935-39 to 1940-44
Ohio—all classes	550	689	39
I	521	865	344
II	635	882	247
III	691	761	70
IV	609	623	14
V (off-farm work)	677	618	-59
VI	537	636	99
VII	660	630	-30
New York—all classes	628	686	58
I	357	573	216
II	620	736	116
III	591	708	117
IV	707	768	61
V (off-farm work)	704	665	-39
VI	645	785	140
VII	562	537	-25

¹ Ratios computed from unpublished tabulations of information obtained in the household section of the 1945 Census of Agriculture from the "master sample" and "large" farms.

² This classification, developed jointly by the BAE and the Census, is based on combined criteria of value of farm products sold or used by farm households in 1944 and the 1945 value of the farm land and buildings, and, in the case of the three lowest classes, information on off-farm work of the farm operator in 1944. Group VII contains some miscellaneous farms. For a more precise statement on the classification, see *United States Census of Agriculture, 1945, Special Report, 1945 Sample Census of Agriculture*, pp. 15-16.

³ Ratio of children of head of household aged 5 through 9 years to 1,000 wives of heads and female heads aged 25 through 49 years.

⁴ Ratio of children of head of household under 5 years of age to 1,000 wives of heads and female heads aged 20 through 44 years.

tive Service, when size of farm enterprise was used as a basis for determining the "war units" required for such a deferment. This could have led to a greater frequency of periods of prolonged absences of husbands on the low-income farms and prevented as great a rise in births.

(3) Wartime prosperity may have led to relatively greater gains for high-income than for low-income farmers, thereby producing a

greater positive effect on their rates.

Data are not available to weigh the effect of each of these possible factors, and it is possible that others not mentioned here may also have had effects.

Propositions relevant to the general matter of fertility patterns and trends in the United States that are suggested by the data presented here, although not proven by them, are as follows:

(1) The customarily observed negative relation between fertility and economic status may be a relationship characteristic of populations in a transition stage from uncontrolled fertility to controlled fertility; since it seems likely that a great majority of the families of the United States have gone a substantial distance in making this transition, the negative relationship may be expected to diminish, and it is possible that when the transition is virtually complete for all families, a positive relationship between fertility and economic class may be far more common within occupational groups.

(2) With a greater proportion of the families controlling fertility, we may in the future expect much greater fluctuations of the birth rate than in the past, if we continue

to have business cycles and wars, since a larger proportion of families will be able to postpone births, have these births at a later period, and even "borrow" births from the future if strong enough factors are operating to make families not want or want births during a given period.

(3) Insofar as methods are concerned, the need is supported for population replacement measures based on periods longer than one year or even five years or on much more detail with respect to parity, age of marriage, etc.

(4) Finally, these data illustrate the great need for more studies that probe into the psychological and economic factors which affect short-run fertility rates and the size of completed family desired.

Mutirao or Mutual Aid*

By J. V. Freitas Marcondes†

ABSTRACT

Mutirão, a folk custom of mutual aid, is a highly developed institution in rural Brazil. It serves as a convenient device for mobilizing the help of neighbors in consummating large tasks requiring speed. No cash wages are paid. However, the institution imposes on each beneficiary a moral obligation to reciprocate when called upon. The organizer of a *mutirão* is also expected to provide food, drinks and recreation during the day and evening of the work. The *mutirão* probably originated spontaneously and independently in many primitive societies. In modern and in some town communities the *mutirão* institution has been used to provide community facilities which cannot be otherwise obtained: e.g., airports. For the most part, the work of the *mutirão* is confined to private forms and accomplishes such tasks as clearing land, cultivating and harvesting large staple crops, building roads and houses, and repairing dams.

Mutirão is a term used in Brazil to designate a group of workers, usually in a rural area, called upon in an emergency by a neighbor to aid without remuneration in completing rapidly a particular piece of work. When a farmer needs to make a road, clear brush, plant, cultivate, or harvest speedily but lacks sufficient help to carry out his tasks, he calls on the *mutirão* to come to his assistance. Most of his neighbors respond to his call, thereby placing him under the obligation of reciprocating. The day almost always ends in a fiesta which strengthens a moral obligation between the one who sought the cooperation and those who participated. The *mutirão* is only one form of mutual aid, but it is one of the most highly developed and institutionalized members of that species.

* The original study on which this article is based was prepared as a term paper in Professor T. Lynn Smith's Seminar in Rural Sociology at Vanderbilt University. The author gratefully acknowledges his many helpful suggestions and criticisms.

† Vanderbilt University and the University of São Paulo.

Consider one actual case of the many personally observed. In 1943, while the war was at its height, the heads of the United Nations appealed to the farmers to increase their acreage. In the *município* of São Luiz do Paraitinga, located between the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, the two principal cities in Brazil, a modest farmer decided to plant a big acreage of corn, one five times larger than usual. In order to prepare the soil and plant the seeds, he resorted to the *mutirão*, and 24 neighbors came to help. Later when the corn was two feet high, it was absolutely necessary for the entire field to be cultivated quickly since the weeds were already beginning to choke the plants. This cultivation had to be completed within a week's time or the farmer stood to lose a good share of the crop. This man lacked funds to pay for enough labor to cultivate his field, and even though he had had the money laborers were not available. Therefore he again organized a *mutirão*, and 32 workers came to help

him. They worked from 8 A.M. to 5:30 P.M. without respite, but in a holiday spirit, singing, and drinking sugar cane rum or *aguardente* which was served several times during the day. At night they assembled on the *terreiro* (the clean, hard-packed plot of earth about the house) for the home was too small to accomodate all of them inside, and enjoyed themselves with music, singing and dancing. Through the *mutirão* this farmer saved his crop at the opportune moment and later harvested a larger crop than ever before, thanks to this healthy practice of cooperation.

The *mutirão* system has been in use in Brazil for a long time. Today it is restricted to those regions where agriculture has not been affected by the influence of the machine and of the concomitant commercialization. It may be said, however, that it remains strongest in small communities and districts where the amount of available labor depends upon the size of the family. In these regions there is a definite lack of hired workers, and even the wealthier planters prefer to lease parts of their estates, offering them to tenants who pay either one half, one third, or one fourth of the harvest as rent. It is these lessees, tenants or croppers, and the small proprietors who still maintain the traditional *mutirão*.

The *mutirão* seems to be a universal institution, as old as man, but it is still little known by scholars. There is even a lamentable confusion regarding the basic concept itself. Many writers, including some sociologists,

fail to make the necessary distinctions¹ between cooperation in general and the cooperative movement based on Rochdale principles. Cooperation is a broad genus in the studies of social process, and it includes several species, types of mutual aid. Professor T. Lynn Smith was the first sociologist to indicate that:²

Among human beings, however cooperative activities range through all degrees from such rather unconscious spontaneous reactions as are exemplified in all the pioneering practices of neighboring and mutual aid to the calculated contractual form of united effort typified by the farmers' cooperation marketing associations, or credit unions. In primary groups unconscious mutual aid is widespread; but as social differentiation proceeds, mutual aid tends to be replaced by cooperative activities based more on deliberate conscious efforts. Finally, in highly differentiated and heterogeneous societies such as industrialized states, organized governmental police powers evolve and enforce all sorts of activities for the public good. Ross has called this compulsory cooperation.

Perhaps for purposes of analysis, cooperative efforts may best be considered as being *contractual* or *non-contractual*. With competitive cooperation which

¹ P. Krapotkin; *Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution*, (New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1902); Margaret Mead, *Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples* (B. Quain's article, pp. 240-280 is an exception) (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1937).

² T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), pp. 479-480.

grows out of social differentiation and the development of interpersonal relations, these varieties of cooperation include the principal modes of working together in human society.

The contractual type of cooperation is characterized by a juridically constituted organization, with specified obligations between the parties and other legal elements, including regulation on the part of the constituted powers. These types have little interest for our study, which is specifically in the non-contractual domain. One should indicate, however, that it is non-contractual merely from the juridical point of view, since the *mutirão*, as we have seen in its definition, also has a contractual aspect, although it is of a strictly moral order. We may add that cooperativism is an economic doctrine that embraces formal institutions, and cooperation is a sociological field where informal institutions exist, of which the *mutirão* is a typical example.

Although there are no regulations or juridical laws for the informal types of cooperation, and despite the variability of the institution, there are four fundamental elements which characterize all types of *mutirão*, namely: 1) the necessity of executing a task rapidly; 2) the collaboration of neighbors, almost everyone appearing at the appointed hour, in response to a call from the one needing help; 3) the moral obligation of reciprocating at the first opportunity, a tacit spontaneous contract consecrated by the mores; 4) and, finally, the important

recreational function, which is promoted enthusiastically by the organizer of the *mutirão* to the extent of his economic means. This consists of furnishing the common meals; almost always providing *melhoradas*; supplying a generous supply of *aguardente*; and making provisions for singing, dancing, and *desafios* which last until morning.

Usually the day chosen for the *mutirão* is a Saturday or the day before a holiday so that everyone can rest the following day. At these gatherings there appear, generally, all the members of the family, including the wife and children, for whom there is work also, either in the preparation of the meals, or in serving them, for lunch and afternoon coffee are served where the men are working in order to save time.

Names and Designations

The names and designations describing this mutual type of organization vary greatly. In Brazil they differ from region to region, and often within the same state they have various names. There are more profound differences between different countries. However, notwithstanding the variety of the terminology, the institution is always the same. A Brazilian scholar³ has published a short geographical terminology to which we shall add other terms catalogued by us, taken from various states of Brazil and from foreign countries.

³ Helio Galvão, *Boletim Geográfico* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística 1945, N. 29.), pp. 723-731.

1. Brazil

Amazonas: Aiuri, Ajuri, Ajuricaba, Mutirum, Potiron, Potirum, Putirum, Puxirum.

Pará: Mutirão, Mutirom, Mutirum, Putirão, Potirom, Potirum; Maranhão: Estalada, Mutirão Putirão;

Piauí: Adjutório;

Ceará: Adjunto, Adjuntório;

Rio Grande do Norte: Adjunto, Adjuntório, Adjuda, Arrelia, Faxina;

Paraíba: Arrelia, Bandeira,

Batalhão;

Pernambuco: Adjunto, Côte, Pega-do-Boi;

Alagoas: Adjunto;

Sergipe: Adjunto, Adjuntório, Batalhão;

Bahia: Adjuntorio, Batalhão, Boide-Cova;

Espírito Santo: Mutirão, Putirão;

Rio de Janeiro: Mutirão, Putirão;

São Paulo: Ajuda, Muchirão, Mutirão, Puchirão, Putirão, Putirão;

Paraná: Muchirão, Mutirão, Puchirão, Putirão;

Santa Catarina: Muchirão, Mutirão;

Rio Grande do Sul: Adjutório, Puxirum;

Mato Grosso: Mutirão, Traição;

Minas Gerais: Batalhão, Mutirão, Muxirão;

Goiás: Mutirão, Suta.

2. Portugal

Beira: Carreto;

Minho: Bessada, Esfolhada.

3. France: Filouas

4. French Guiana: Mauri

5. Dutch Guiana: Kweki

6. Haiti: Combite

7. Cuba: Junta, Cobija, Guateque

8. Dominican Republic: Timoum

9. Canada: Corvè

10. United States: Threshing Ring, Quilting Party, Husking Bee, House Raising.

The most complete study of the analysis of the synonymy enumerated above with which I am familiar is that of Plínio Airosa,⁴ Professor of Tupi Guarani in the College of Philosophy, Sciences and Letters, of the University of São Paulo. This specialist organized the foregoing terms into three large groups; in the first are included all the words which begin with the letter "p"; in the second group those which begin with "m"; and in the third group, the remaining words, as follows:

1st. group	2nd group	3rd group
Puxirom	Muxirom	Ajuricába
Puxirão	Muxirão	Ajurí
Putirom	Mutirom	Ajutório
Putirão	Mutirão	Adjutório
Puchirão	Muchirão	Adjunto
Pichurum	Michurum	Batalhão
Puxirum	Muxirum	Banderia
Putirum	Mutirum	
Potirum	Motirum	
Potirom	Motirom	

After a minute study of the words of these three groups, Airosa reduced them to two groups and finally to one single group, since all the words listed are but corruptions of *Tupi-Guarani* and dialectal compounds used by Indians and later by the people of the country. The linguistic transformations constitute a well-known social fact. However all the corruptions and terms cited and synonyms of *mutirão* studied to date, ultimately in the last analysis mean: "work together," "united," "to help in clearing, fishing and hunting."

⁴ Plínio Airosa, *Térmos Tupís no Português do Brasil* (São Paulo: Revista Grafica dos Tribunais, 1937), pp. 175-183.

Sources of Mutirão

There are some that defend the Indian origin, claiming that the *mutirão* is in Brazil a culture complex inherited from the Indians.⁵ Prominent writers such as Caio Prado Junior, and Herbert Baldus are of this school. The strongest argument they present is that before the discovery of Brazil, in 1500, the Indians already practised the most varied types of mutual aid. Many of them base themselves in names and designations still in existence, to explain the origin of this institution.

Many of the early chroniclers support this point of view. Some of them, Father Fernão Cardim for example, refer to the white man's exploitation of "the art and manners of the Indians," in exchange for wine, obtaining their cooperation in the work cultivation.⁶ Friar Ives d'Evreux, cited by Helio Galvão,⁷ gives indication that he had knowledge of the *mutirão* among the Tupinambas in the State of Maranhão.

Other analysts, however, among them the distinguished anthropologist Arthur Ramos,⁸ the greatest authority of the Afro-Negro studies in Brazil, maintain that the *mutirão* is of the African origin. Carefully weighing the cultural aspects of this

institution in Brazil, Ramos finds distinct traces of mutual aid, especially in certain recreational aspects, among the primitives Negroes of other countries. The survivals that still remain and have not undergone total acculturation attest to the validity of this belief.

Writers of distinction in other countries, such as the Herskovits, in their study of the Island of Trinidad,⁹ defend the thesis of African origin. These writers show that the systems of cooperation in Brazil are paralleled by the *Cavap* of Trinidad, the *Timoun* of Haiti, and the *Kweki* of Dutch Guiana. They give sufficient proof of the spirit of cooperation among the Negroes.

There are still others who claim the *mutirão* in Brazil is of Portuguese origin, because the institution is widely used in Portugal. It is of course true that Portuguese literature is rich in studies of mutual aid. To illustrate we may point out the novelist Julio Diniz¹⁰ who in an excellent chapter analyses the fiesta of the *esfolhada*, the Portuguese term given above as synonymous with *mutirão*. But this does not prove that the institution originated in the Iberian Peninsula.

Our own point of view is opposed to any theory which allows for only one single origin of the *mutirão*. We are opposed to the "mania of monogenesis." Mutual aid is a social phenomenon among the more primitive

⁵ J. Figueiredo Filho, "Mutirão, 'Adjunto' Nordestino. Origem Ameríndia," *Sul Americana*, Rio de Janeiro, N. 91, December, 1942, pp. 26-28.

⁶ Padre Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (São Paulo: Cia. Editora Nacional, 1939), p. 152.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 729.

⁸ Arthur Ramos, *As Culturas Negras no Novo Mundo* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1937), p. 209 (notes 264 and 369).

⁹ J. Melville Herskovits and Frances S. Herskovits, *Trinidad Village* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), pp. 62 and 290.

¹⁰ Julio Diniz, *As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor* (Rio de Janeiro: Dois Mundos Editora Ltda, 1943).

peoples all over the earth. Even among the irrational there is a group tendency, a protective element, as pointed by Kropotkin. Man in time of need always requests the help of his fellows. In the societies where primary groups prevail cooperation always have a spontaneous aspect, but as civilization enters and social differentiation proceeds, cooperation gradually assumes a more conscious character. However, even in the super civilized societies there is some residual of mutual aid but it exhibits a contractual and formal aspect. That is why the *mutirão* is rarely encountered in an urban center.

From the above discussion we conclude that the *mutirão* in Brazil should not be explained merely in terms of Indian, African, or Portuguese culture. Rather it resembles an amalgam of all the ethnological-cultural factors that entered the national territory, taking on different colorations in the various sections of the country. In the South, even Germanic elements have now been incorporated in the mutual aid institutions, as has been described by Emílio Willems.¹¹

Some Types of the Mutirão

The *mutirão* is practiced for various purposes. The types best known in the rural Brazilian areas, and sometimes in small urban centers, are those organized for the following purposes:

1. *The Felling of Trees*—The *mutirão* for the *derrubadas* of forests is

practiced in pioneer zones. The laborers assemble, bring axes, swinging blades, hoes, ropes; and by the end of the day a large expanse of forest has disappeared to give space for the planting of crops. It still continues to be practiced in the states of Paraná, São Paulo, Mato Grosso, Minas Gerais and Goiás.¹²

2. *Clearing of brush*—Annually *mutirões* are held in places already used for crops. To clear brush is distinguished from the cutting of trees since the work is light and axes are not necessary. The laborers depend upon swinging blades (bill hooks, or ditch blades) and hoes. The clearing of brush ends almost always with a big fire at nightfall. This type is found in all parts of Brazil and has a great variety of names.

3. *Preparation of the soil*—After the trees and brush have been felled and fired, comes the preparation of the soil. In some cases holes must be opened; in others, large beds must be thrown up. Almost always they prepare the soil and do the sowing in a single day so that the crop will grow uniformly. The *mutirão* is employed for types of work throughout almost all of Brazil,—in all places where agricultural machinery has not yet appeared and where the manual work is difficult.

4. *Cultivation*—This type of *mutirão* is principally in the weeding of

¹² In describing briefly the various types, we omit the recreational aspects, but in each of them, after the work, or sometimes during the work, the participants enjoy themselves in dances. The *jongo*, the *caterêta*, *moçambique*, the *cana verde*, and the *desafios* are the most popular of these.

¹¹ *A Aculturação dos Alemães no Brasil* (São Paulo: Cia. Editora Nacional, 1946), Chap. XI.

corn, beans, rice, and tobacco in South Brazil; and in the North, in the cultivation of cocoa and cotton. Synonymous terms are *batalha* and *batalhão*, cited by Helio Galvão, practiced in the state of Paraíba, in the município of Princesa Isabel:

The farmers in a locality, or neighbors, assemble on prearranged days for a *batalha* in the fields of one of them. They will next plant the crop of a third, a fourth, a fifth and thus help each other as is necessary. Those *batalhões* are organized to cope with emergencies on a farm where weeds are so profuse as to choke the plants.

5. *Harvesting*—There are many products that cannot remain long in the field because the rain, sun and dew will damage them. To handle these expeditiously the *mutirão* is organized, the laborers sometimes bringing horses and oxen to help in transporting the harvest. Beans are often harvested in the morning, spread on *terreiros* in the center of the field, and then threshed and sacked in the afternoon. When the *mutirão* is over the beans are ready for storage in the *paio*. Some of these very beans are served the laborers at the dinner where reigns a great holiday spirit with music and dancing.

6. *Clearing of pastures*—On the cattle ranches of São Paulo and Minas Gerais many *mutirões* are organized during the winter. The laborers are divided into two groups: one group working in front with scythes to clear the brush, and the other coming behind with hoes to chop out noxious

and useless plants. Generally among the workers there are singers to enliven the task.

7. *Road Work*—This type of *mutirão* is practiced in all parts of Brazil. It is not always carried out by mutual aid, but frequently the country people decide to pool their efforts in order to repair their own roads. This is generally an annual affair.

In the município of São Luiz do Paraitinga I observed a *mutirão* where a farmer with the help of sixty people, divided into three groups, constructed a new road to connect his farm with the road in the neighboring município of Natividade. The first group went in front felling the trees and underbrush with axes and scythes; the second, with mattocks and hoes, prepared the road bed; and the third made the ditches, built two small bridges, and did the final grading. By the end of the day two miles of new road had been built. Today it is used by all the people who live in the area, because the new route is shorter than the old.

This *mutirão* was the most festive of all that I have witnessed. Early in the morning the guests began arriving at the farm house, where coffee with milk and *bolão* were served. They began the work in good spirits commencing immediately to sing. Almost everyone improvised verses. All of the verses had as a theme the farmer, the road they were making, or "our scribe" (The latter referred to the author of this article, a stranger to them, who had been invited to take notes, pictures, and observe the mu-

tirão). Among the verses used is the following:

Vou cantar mais outro verso,
Ai, ai, morena, eu vou cantar
Vou agora dar um viva
Pr'a os companheiros despertar.

To which another singer answered:

Ai, ai, agora pr'o patrão,
Ai, ai, morena eu vou cantar
Outro verso pr'as cozinheiras
Antes da hora de almoçar.
Eu vou carpir pr'o patrão
Ai, ai, com a companhia inteira
Vamos fazer bonita estrada
Pr'a passar moça solteira.

A little later a third one sang and his mates answered loudly, with plenty of enthusiasm:

Um viva
Pr'o patrão
e outro
pr'o nosso escrivão.¹³

And thus they worked all day long.
At night, the dancing lasted until

¹³ The following translation is literal and does not adequately express the idea of the *sertanejo*. The verses sang in the *caipira* dialect have another flavor and meaning. This is the second translation since the materials first went from the dialect to Portuguese and then from Portuguese to English:

I shall sing another verse
Ai, ai, my brunette, I shall sing
I shall give a hurrah
To wake up my friends.

Ai, ai, now for the farmer
Ai, ai, by brunette, I shall sing
Another verse for the cooks
Before lunch time.

I shall cut the grass for the farmer
Ai, ai, with the entire company
We shall build a beautiful road
For a maiden to march along.

A hurrah
for the farmer
and another
for our writer.

dawn, with great enthusiasm both inside the house and on the *terreiro*, where the *desafios* took place.

8. *Construction of houses*—In all the states of Brazil, under a great variety of names, is found the *mutirão* for building houses. The co-operators build the houses of *taipa* (wattle and daub) or more commonly of the *páu a pique* or palisade walls. By the end of the day the house is finished. We observed a *mutirão* of this type in northern Paraná. Twenty men began work early in the morning, and at night the house was complete.

9. *Building or repairing dams*—The *mutirão* for this purpose is practiced frequently in the north because of the long droughts, where the building of dams is necessary. The *mutirão* for repairing of dams are very common and are almost always regarded as urgent.

10. *Manufacture and repair of nets by fishermen*—In the *município* of Ubatuba, on the coast of the State of São Paulo there is a manufacturer of nets who, when he is swamped with orders for new fishing equipment or requests for repairs, asks for the help of fishermen friends. In a single day they catch up on the work. In the north of Brazil the fishermen also get together to repair the fishing tackle.

11. *Tench fishing*—This variety is very much in vogue in the cities along the coast, like Ubatuba, Caraguatuba, Itanhaen, and so on. The fishermen get together at the proper season and leave in the morning in dozens of canoes with their nets and

other apparatus. At sunset, under the curious eyes of their fellow townsmen who observe the last tasks, they collect their catch, sell part of it and divide the rest. The money resulting from the sale of the fish belongs either to the organizer of the *mutirão* or is distributed among the ones that took part.

12. *Shelling corn*—The *mutirão* is much employed for this type of work in almost all of Brazil. It is also known in Portugal, under the name of *esfolhada*. During the threshing, there is music, songs and the telling of jokes. At night comes the dance. We have observed this type in the *municípios* of Bragança, Cunha, Redenção, and São Luiz do Paraitinga all in São Paulo. The workers sometimes shell a dozen sacks of corn per day.

13. *Preparation of tobacco*—The *mutirão* for this purpose requires a large number of persons who work only a few hours, generally in the evening or at night. This type of work if long continued produces headaches. It is widely used in the state of Bahia.

14. *Transportation of timber*—When large trees have been felled in places to which accessibility is difficult, a *mutirão* is organized to transport the logs to more accessible locations. Sometimes the guests bring animals, principally if large logs must be moved. In Portugal this type of mutual aid is called *carreto*.

15. *Manufacture of hammocks*—In Ceará and other parts of Brazil the hammock is in general use, people preferring it to an ordinary bed. This

accounts for the highly specialized manufacture of hammocks in the north. This industry is still a domestic one and the artisans are mostly women. When a worker receives a large order or when the orders have accumulated, she organizes the *mutirão*. Most of the participants are women, and it is said they work hard although they talk too much.

All the cases previously described have been private enterprises; but there are others of an official nature. Such *mutirões* are organized and directed by persons occupying official positions. For example, one was used in 1936 by the Federal governor of the Territorio of Acre for the construction of an airfield. Lacking sufficient funds to build the field, this official organized a huge *mutirão*. More than a hundred persons came, including all the local officials. In a few days airplanes were able to land at one more point of national territory.

Another official enterprise of this type, about which we have at our disposal a wealth of documentary material, was carried out in the *município* of Senador Firmino, in the state of Minas Gerais, under the sponsorship of the prefect, Professor Cicero Torres Galdino. In a letter to us dated September 2, 1946, this official indicates that ever since it was very young the *município* had only a small income and urgently needed public services. Then he adds:

Without other means to practice the proper function, I happened to remember the mutual system,

and the only solution was the *mutirão*, all together.

Six years ago I organized the first *mutirão* and with that one and others were built 110 kilometers of road; three grammar schools; several big bridges; and countless little ones. In addition swamps and marshes were drained, new streets laid out and old ones levelled.

In another letter dated September 21st, 1946, the same official tells of 56 *mutirões*, for various purposes, which took place between September 7, 1940, and August 5, 1944. In the *mutirão* of May 1, 1941, 964 workers took part (this is the largest of all *mutirões* carried out in Brazil and perhaps in all areas where the social process of mutual help is known). That day, under great pressure, 3,545 meters of roads were built over mountainous terrain and crossing the highest point of the *município*, at an altitude of 1,005 meters. The road that connects Senador Firmino and Braz Pires is estimated by an engineer to be worth 500,000,00 *cruzeiros* (\$25,000) and was completely built by *mutirões* without cost to the *município*.

With the help of the local newspaper—“O Firminense”—and by means of manifestos the prefect conducted a truly educational campaign, in collaboration with the parish priest who urged the people to cooperate wholeheartedly. (Almost all the *mutirões* began with a Mass and a sermon delivered by the priest). All the local population collaborated, including the women who prepared the meals for the workers.

The prefect did not overlook the children and, on November 16, 1940, ordered the distribution of a manifesto, which we present in translation:

To the children of Senador Firmino:

I would be committing a mistake, considering the orientation I gave to the road construction of Senador Firmino-Braz Pires, if I did not ask as I do now, for the help of the children of this town.

All the social classes, all the citizens, the young people of both sexes, everyone in general, have lent their valuable assistance to the great work that is now under construction.

Only the children are missing. To them I myself appeal asking for the help of their vigorous little arms and their growing generosity, to come to work in a special *mutirão* of their own.

Children of all ages and both sexes, came to rejoice in a day of work, enrolling your name along with your parents in the present unforgettable task. In the future, your descendants will know of your youthful example in striving for the greatness of the nation.

Instructions

Day of the *mutirão*: November 30, 1940, work beginning at 10 o'clock.

The children will provide themselves with hoes and mattocks of any kind; they will assemble in the Getulio Vargas Square and from there, they will go in joyfull procession to the road, with the prefect and other persons who would like to attend the parade.

The girls will ask their parents for help in obtaining pro-

visions for the meals. The food secured will be delivered at our residence, thereby permitting the distribution of lunch before 12 A.M. on the day of the *mutirão*.

I ask the families, schools, private houses of instruction, and people in general, to set an example in this event, stimulating the children in the duty that everybody must perform to increase the prosperity of the fatherland.

As we see, the initiative of the prefect demonstrates eloquently what can be done with the help of the mutual aid. This type of solidarity

was so widespread that very rarely was there a Saturday when *mutirão* was not resorted to and as result, a higher degree of prosperity was evident in the section. Suffice it to say that the municipal's revenues were increased five fold.¹⁴

In conclusion, we can say that besides the practical aspect that mutual aid represents in itself in a very valuable way, there is still the social aspect that is incommensurable. Many marriages are arranged on such occasions.

¹⁴ "Dia do Municipio," *O Firminense*, Jan. 1, 1945.

A Contrast In The Rural Social Organization Of Rabun County, Georgia and Franklin County, Washington

By Robert E. Galloway†

ABSTRACT

A comparative analysis of a typical county in the Northwestern Wheat-fallow sub-region of the Wheat Belt with one in the Southern Appalachian Mountain sub-region of the General and Self-sufficing Type Farming Region, show that there are great and significant differences in the structure of their respective rural social organization. These differences tend to be associated with differences in the type farming, the ecology, characteristics of the people, and in the traditions of the people.

The purpose of this paper is to contrast the rural social organization in two far-separated counties. Rabun County is in the northeastern section of Georgia, part of the *Southern Appalachian Mountain* sub-region of the General and Self-sufficing Type-of-Farming Region. The whole region extends from Maine southwestward

along the Appalachian Mountains, fanning out into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee and Georgia, and including the Ozark Mountain area of Arkansas, Missouri and Oklahoma. Franklin County in southeastern Washington at the fork of the Snake and Columbia Rivers, belongs to the *Northwestern Wheat-fallow* sub-region of the Wheat Belt

† Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

which extends through the Great Plains, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington.

General Characteristics

Rabun County has certain of the basic characteristics of its Region: a mountainous terrain with narrow valleys along creeks and rivers, a high ratio of population to natural resources, generally low standards of living, and a simple unmechanized type of farming directed towards subsistence.

In contrast, Franklin County has certain of the basic characteristics of its very different Region: rolling plains, a semi-arid climate, high standards of living, extensive mechanization, high value of farms, farm implements and machinery, high gross income, low ratio of population to natural resources, and a farm economy based upon wheat.

The characteristics of the physical environment, the population, and the agricultural economy have definitely conditioned the type and pattern of the rural social organization and the extent of participation in group activities in each county. An examination of comparable data for the counties (Table 1) suggests that the rural social organization is greatly influenced by: differences in topography, soil resources, climate, population characteristics, history and background of the people, size of farm, degree of mechanization, average gross income, and type of farming.

Contrast in the Physical Environment

The mountainous terrain in Rabun County has been the most influential

factor determining the settlement pattern and the ways in which the people of the county live. Settlement was restricted to the many narrow isolated valleys along the creeks where cultivable soils were to be found. The terrain made the building of roads difficult and expensive thereby retarding contacts of the valley settlements with the outside. Isolation of these groups greatly impeded community and county-wide organization and participation. At the same time the homogeneity of these isolated neighborhoods has been strengthened by intermarriage which has built up blood relationships that have considerable significance.

The topography, soils and climate of Franklin County have all been important factors influencing the settlement pattern and the type of rural social organization found in the county. A topography, consisting of a desert plain to rolling uplands, encouraged a scattered open-country settlement pattern which depends upon the town for economic, religious, educational, recreational, cultural and most social services and activities. The soils and semi-arid climate limit the land that can be cultivated without irrigation to 68.7 percent of the area of the county. They lend themselves to extensive wheat and livestock operations on farms that average over 1,800 acres with farmsteads that are from 1 to 10 miles apart.

Contrast in the Characteristics of the Population

The settlement of Rabun County was started in the 1780's by Revolu-

tionary War veterans who were given grants of land for their service to the Nation. The early settlers were predominantly descendants of the Scotch-Irish who had previously lived in

Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina. They were freedom loving yeoman farmers who wanted land and homes of their own and were willing to brave the wilderness and Indians

TABLE 1. COMPARABLE DATA FOR RABUN AND FRANKLIN COUNTIES 1945.

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT	Rabun County	Franklin County
Total Land Area (Square miles)	369	1,262
Elevation (feet)	3,000-4,600	300-1,200
Average Annual Rainfall (inches)	70.96	9.96
THE POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS—1940		
Total Population	7,890	6,309
Urban (Per cent)	0	62.0
Rural Non-farm (Per cent)	33.3	12.9
Rural Farm (Per cent)	66.7	25.1
Population Density (persons per sq. mile)	21.4	05.1
Fertility Rate	661	338
Persons under 20 per 100 Persons of Productive Age (20-64 years of age) (Number)	93.8	49.3
Level of Living Index	72.	126.
Median Size of Family (Number)	4.1	3.5
THE AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY—1945		
Land in Farms (acres)	52,320	554,657
Per cent of Total Land Area	22.2	68.7
Cropland (acres)	18,563	272,486
Per cent of Cropland on Farms	35.4	49.1
Average Size of Cropland per Farm (acres)	18.7	1001.
Average Cropland per Farm Person (acres)	4.6	244.6
Average Size of Farm (acres)	55.4	1,846
Number of Farms	944	300
TREND IN SIZE OF FARMS		
1860-1945 (decreased)	-893.8%	—
1910-1945 (increased) ¹	—	+195.3%
TREND IN NUMBER OF FARMS		
1860-1945 (increased)	+291.3%	—
1910-1945 (decreased) ¹	—	-51.6%
Per cent of Farms over 1,000 Acres in Size	0.1	41.3
Major Crop	Corn	Wheat
Vegetable Acreage (acres)	496	118
Farms having Tractors (per cent)	2.8	54.7 ²
Average Gross Farm Income (dollars)	770.72	15,025.90
Value of Farm Produce used by Farm Household, per Member (dollars)	110.43	82.42
Value of Farm, (land & buildings per farm) (dollars)	2,284.00	33,427.00
Value of Implements and Machinery per Farm (dollars)	159.00	5,766.00
Tenancy (per cent)	25.8	16.7
Persons Employed in Agriculture (Per cent)	54.4	24.5

¹ Homesteading period to last available census.

² Each wheat farm in Franklin County has at least one "caterpillar" tractor.

and to make the necessary sacrifices to secure them. The settlement of the county has been by homogeneous groups who have maintained most of their folkways and cultures down through the years. At no time has there been any appreciable number of foreign-born persons or Negroes in the population.

The population of the county has always been rural without an urban place of 2,500 or more persons. The first census in 1820 showed a population of 524 persons for the county. There have been three waves of migration into the county; between 1820-1830, 1870-1880 and 1930-1940. There have also been two periods of relatively large out-migration between 1900-1910 and 1940-1945. The population of the county has never been very large—7,890 persons in 1945. The rate of natural increase has been high due to a high birth rate and a relatively small out-migration. Not only does the population constantly press upon its natural resources but the adult population is forced to support an unusually large number of young people.¹

The county is not only entirely rural but its population is 66.7 percent rural farm. The rural farm population of Rabun County ranks low according to the "Level of Living Index"² with a score of 72 in 1940, compared with a score of 72 for the State and 100 for

the Nation. Housing is generally poor and over-crowded. Modern conveniences are missing in most of the farm homes. In 1940, according to the Census, 78.9 percent of the farm dwellings were without running water, 12.5 percent were without either inside or outside toilets, 64.8 percent did not have radios, 81.4 percent were without electricity, 90.7 percent were without mechanical refrigeration, and 94.8 percent did not have telephones (Table 2). The people of Rabun County stand in a world of modern conveniences as a pioneer society in terms of levels of living.

Rabun County is an example of the survival of a primary society in this country with its traditions, folkways, mores, characteristic mode of speech, superstitions, and theological beliefs that have changed little through the years.

The settlement of Franklin County came approximately a century after that of Rabun County. It was intimately related to the coming of the railroads. The first permanent settlement at the terminus of the Walla Walla branch of the Northern Pacific Railroad was begun in 1871. The pioneers were mostly railroad workers who settled in villages. Prior to 1900, farming was confined to a small area along the Snake River which was used for stock-grazing. Settlement on a large scale began soon after 1900, and coincided with the introduction of wheat farming to the county. The railroads which owned every other section of land in the county promoted the settlement. The population in-

¹ In Rabun County there were 93.8 persons under 20 years of age per 100 persons of productive age, (20-64 years) in 1940 compared to 49.3 persons in Franklin County.

² Hagood, Margaret Jarman, *Rural Level of Living Indexes for Counties of the United States*, USDA, BAE, October 1943.

creased from 486 in 1900 to 5,153 by 1910 and practically every desirable 160-acre tract had been homesteaded by the end of this period.

In contrast with Rabun County, the population of Franklin County is predominantly urban. The rural population accounts for only 38 percent of the total, while the rural-farm population accounted for only 25.1 percent in 1945. Approximately half of the county's estimated 1943 population of 13,035 inhabitants lived in the county seat town of Pasco, and over three-fourths of the population is located in the southern apex of the county.

The ratio of population to the land is relatively small with a density of 5.1 persons per square mile; outside the town of Pasco the density is only 1.4 persons per square mile. This coupled with a low rate of natural increase creates a comparatively open opportunity for the youth of the county.

The level of living of the rural-farm population of Franklin County, with an index figure of 126, is above the average of the State (124) and the Nation (100). (Table 1). A high percentage of the farm families have modern conveniences (Table II). These figures include both the wheat and truck farms of the county. The wheat farmers have a much higher level of living than do the truck farmers; in fact, the index figure for the wheat farmers alone would probably equal that of any farm group in the nation.

The wheat farmers are of varied origins. They include first and second generation Germans, Belgians, Canadians, Russians, French, and Scandinavians as well as "old-line" Americans from the middle-west.

Early settlers brought with them the tradition of deep moldboard plowing and relatively small farms. Those who came directly from the Old

TABLE 2. LEVEL OF LIVING IN RABUN AND FRANKLIN COUNTIES
(Selected Items for Rural Farm Population)

	Rabun County	Franklin County
persons per room	74.2	87.2
1. Percentage of occupied dwellings with fewer than 1.51		
2. Percentage of occupied dwellings with radios	35.2	84.2
3. Percentage of occupied dwellings with running water	21.1	46.1
4. Percentage of occupied dwellings with mechanical refrigeration	09.3	49.3
5. Percentage of occupied dwellings with central heating system	00.8	0.94
6. Percentage of occupied dwellings with electric lighting	18.6	52.2
7. Percentage of occupied dwellings with bathtub or shower	12.0	29.3
8. Percentage of occupied dwellings with telephones (on farms)	05.2	40.8
9. Percentage of farms on improved roads	52.6	89.8
10. Percentage of farms reporting autos of 1936 or later models	08.9	43.0
11. Median grade of school completed by persons 25 years of age and over	6.8	8.6

Source: U. S. Census, 1940

World, accustomed to living in densely populated village communities, practiced intensive agriculture. There was little in their heritage, except their pioneer spirit and energy, that suited their new environment. They had to forge a new way of life. New techniques of farming and suitable tools had to be developed. Deep moldboard plowing gave away to discing, harrowing and cultivating to rotating rod-weeding. Small farms gave way to farms of thousands of acres, and scattered isolated homesteads replaced those in the village.

These fundamental changes, together with the sparsity of settlement and the absence of closely-knit communities of distinct nationality groups, were responsible for the rapid disappearance of their traditional way of living. Today, less than forty-five years after the homesteading period, one has the impression that here is a distinctly new life, for only among the German people who live in and near the town of Connell is there evidence of the survival of the old.

The present wheat farmers are the end product of a sifting process which has been going on since the homesteading period. These are the men and women who were able to survive the long, trying 20-years of learning how to dry-farm, to weather the sandstorms and droughts, to withstand depressions, and to live in isolation. Within one life span a change was wrought from the poverty and hardships of pioneer farming to the success of the large-scale and highly mechanized wheat farming of today.

Contrast in the Agriculture

The farm economy of Rabun County has been essentially domestic. Each family earns its livelihood at home in a rather direct way. Gross cash incomes are small (average \$770.72 in 1945) and purchases are confined to necessities—principally clothes and the few staple foods that they can not produce on their farm. Their tools are few and simple, for mechanization has made little headway.

The average size of farm decreased from 522 acres in 1860 to 55.4 acres by 1945. The average acreage of crop land per farm was 18.7 in 1945, giving a per capita crop acreage of 4.6 acres for the rural-farm population. This is inadequate to maintain even the most modest level of living. A typical farmer in this county plants about half of his cropland to corn which is the basic feed for his stock and food for his family. Many of the farmers own no work stock, but depend upon a neighbor who will loan or rent a horse or mule when needed. Only 515 (49.7 percent) of the 1,037 farmers in the county reported having either a horse or mule in 1940.

In contrast, the farming in Franklin County, since the time of homesteading, has been essentially wheat farming. These operations are extensive and about as highly mechanized as that found in any group of farms in the Nation. Mastering the technique of growing wheat in an area that has less than 10 inches of rainfall in a year has been a long and tedious undertaking. Successful wheat farming in the county was made possible

through the development, by the farmers themselves, of new and suitable techniques, tools, and machinery. There were two stages in the development of the present type of farming. First, while dry farming was being learned, equipment that would conserve moisture and prevent the blowing of the topsoil was developed. Using the technique of "summer fallow," with half of the wheat land lying idle each year, using the "Wheatland" disc plow and the rotating rod-weeder, answered these needs. Next came mechanization, which included the shift from horsepower to Diesel power, to the motor truck, and to the self-propelled combine, and the shift from sacking to bulking of harvested wheat. Wheat farming here has reached a high stage of mechanization, with all the economies and efficiencies of large-scale operations.

In Franklin County the farms have steadily grown larger. The average size of farm has increased from 640 acres in 1910 to 3,118 acres in 1945. The average farm had 1,001 acres of cropland in 1945—over fifty times that in Rabun County. The per capita acreage for the rural-farm population was 244.6 acres. The average gross income on the wheat farms was approximately \$33,000 in 1946 from the wheat crop alone.

Contrast in Rural Social Organization

Rabun County has a pattern of social organization that is typical of the mountain societies throughout the Southern Highlands. The social organization developed by these low-income, self-sufficing mountain folk is

characterized by its simplicity, love of home and family, kinship, informality, visiting, and highly integrated neighborhoods that are centered around a rural church or a one-room rural school.

The principal concerns of these mountain folk are the old human concerns; the struggle against nature, then marriage and children, care of the family, hard work, plain food, the companionship of friends, freedom, religion as they see it, and the mystery of life, death, and the hereafter. The family surpasses all other groups in the allegiance it commands, with neighborhood and kinship groups occupying a significant place in their lives. Social interaction within these groups is basically informal.

While rural social organization has changed little in the hinterlands of the county, a more complex pattern is developing along the central belt extending north and south through the center of the county, where the population has concentrated during the last forty years. This area has access to modern transportation, power lines, towns of moderate size, and the best agricultural lands in the county.

The transition from a primary to a secondary society taking place here is a very slow and tedious process. Traditions and ways of doing things are not easily given up and cultural lag is very apparent. The simple and informal social organization formerly seemed adequate to meet the unpretentious needs of a self-sufficing people. But with the invasion of higher standards of living, education, and

social institutions which was accompanied by a decline in the traditional self-sufficient farm economy, the established ways of meeting situations and developing security seemed to fail. The infiltration of the Great Society with its newer standards of living, its educational and health requirements, its ways of earning a living, and its modes of travel created new wants, which the self-sufficing economy could not satisfy. So the county has become more and more dependent upon the State and Federal Governments for aid and assistance for their schools, health and welfare programs, and for subsidies to bolster their inadequate farm economy in order to bring it in line with that of the rest of the country from which it cannot remain detached.

Rural social organization in Franklin County, on the other hand, has been formulated rather recently and it tends to be formal in nature. The social organization developed by the high-income wheat farmers is characterized by its seeming formality, special-interest nature, lack of neighborhood social interaction, absence of rural churches, and dependency upon the town-centers for economic, social, educational, religious, cultural, and recreational services and activities.

The principal concerns of a wheat farmer are the welfare of his family, maintaining a good living, conserving the moisture, educating his children, getting high wheat yields, and getting good prices for wheat. The immediate family is relatively stable, exerts a strong degree of social control over

the children, and is the most important unit of social interaction among these farmers. A wheat farmer is proud of his farm home and home life. Kinship groups have not been important and are just beginning to be large enough to have a degree of social importance.

Contrast in the Family

The family is the most important unit of social organization in both Rabun and Franklin Counties. Ties are strong within the family with significant emotional relations among its members. However, there are differences in the attitudes, values, characteristics, fertility, level of living, and stability of the farm families of the two counties.

Families in Rabun County have been prolific. Sons and daughters have usually married within the neighborhood or with near-by people and moved farther up the hillsides or into the smaller valleys that finger out of the larger valleys. Kinship groups became concentrated within the neighborhoods; then as population pressures grew, forcing family members out of the neighborhood, kinship ties began to extend beyond neighborhood limits. Kinship ties are noticeable in the churches, the schools, and in other neighborhood activities. The influence of these groups is often felt in county-wide organizations and activities. Some kinship groups have grown so large that they have lost their ingroup character, but visiting along kinship lines is still prevalent and has a real part in the lives of the people. The

women in Rabun generally work more than the men do. In addition to her work in the home, a farm wife helps in the fields, with her husband and children.

In Rabun, the parents' attitude towards schooling of their children varies, but most parents would like to have their children help earn the living for the family as soon as they are large enough to work, instead of going to school. This accounts for the low school attainment of 6.8 grades—the median grade of school completed by the rural farm population 25 years of age and over.

The farm families in Franklin County are relatively small. The average size is around 3.5 persons. During the depression of the thirties there was a tendency for the sons and daughters to leave the farm, but during the past few years of high wheat prices, some sons have gone into partnership with their fathers and some have been started on farms of their own, by their fathers. The wife of a wheat farmer cares for the home and children. She seldom works on the farm except perhaps to drive a grain truck during the harvest, and perhaps to feed the stock and poultry, with the children's help. The education of the children is of prime importance; they usually finish high school and many go on to college.

Apparently there is seldom a broken family in Franklin County. In Rabun there were 36 divorces compared with 62 marriages, in 1945. Most of the divorces in Rabun County were among the younger farm families that were

broken up during the war. The divorces were explained locally by the many hurried "war marriages" of youths in their teens, at the beginning of the war.

Contrast in Locality Groupings

The pioneers of Rabun County settled the valleys and protected coves and were hemmed in by mountains, some of which reach a height of more than 4,600 feet. These settlements became neighborhoods whose boundaries have changed little throughout the years. In areas where the mountains are high and the valleys few the neighborhoods are isolated and scattered. In the less mountainous areas, the valleys are more plentiful and contiguous and the neighborhoods are in clusters. Neighborhoods are the locality groupings in which social interaction, leadership, group activities, and social control function most effectively. There are 77 neighborhoods in Rabun County which are grouped into 11 communities (Figure 1).

A community here consists of from three to fifteen neighborhoods which have a feeling of "belonging" and a desire to work with this particular community. These communities fall into three categories: well organized, poorly organized, and virtually unorganized. The most highly organized and integrated communities were found to be centered around a trade center, or around the county seat, or to have several social activities centered in the area. The communities that were centered around an open-country consolidated school were usually poorly organized with a limit-

NEIGHBORHOODS & COMMUNITIES IN RABUN COUNTY, GEORGIA.



Fig. 1. Neighborhoods and Communities in Rabun County.

ed social interaction at the community level. The communities that had neither the trade center nor the consolidated school around which to rally were virtually unorganized. The school districts and trade areas did not tend to be important locality groups, in Rabun.

In Franklin County the traditional rural open-country neighborhoods have disappeared. Those of the homesteading period (1900-1910), centered around a cross-roads store or rural school, disappeared when their services and activities were shifted to the larger trade centers. The shift that has been taking place over the past two decades was primarily due to the decrease in the farm population and to technological developments including new methods of merchandising in the larger trade centers. Economic, social, educational, and religious services and activities for the rural population shifted from the open-country to the towns. One-room rural schools were consolidated with the town school. The contacts with the outside expanded.

Communities, the trade areas, and the school districts are equally important geographic areas, in which farm people and farm groups function. There are sub-areas within some of the communities, in which a limited social interaction takes place, but they do not assume the role of an integrated neighborhood. The boundaries of the communities and trade areas in this county are coterminous, and as the trade areas change the boundaries of the communities follow. The close

relationship between the community and trade area follows the pattern of social and economic services which are located in the trade and community center. When the services and institutions are located in the trade center, there remains no integrating force in the open-country to compete with the trade center for the farmers' patronage. The boundaries of a school district do not usually coincide with those of a community and trade area but there is a tendency for them to become more nearly coterminous as the consolidation of the schools proceeds. School districts are important locality groupings. Each is an independently operated unit with its own school board, superintendent of schools, tax levies, and school buildings. The people apparently value the school districts more than the other locality groupings, for they constantly fight to retain these districts whereas they give little resistance to the changes in other locality boundaries.

There are three communities in Franklin County (Figure 2). All are town-country communities, which are town-centered. There were 12 communities in 1920, but they have decreased in number gradually since that time. As automobiles and good roads greatly increased the radius of a farmer's travel, he "passed up" the cross-roads and smaller trade centers to trade in the larger towns. The cross-roads stores have disappeared and the smaller trade centers have declined. Economic services are now concentrated in the larger towns. As schools were consolidated and shifted



COMMUNITIES IN FRANKLIN COUNTY, WASHINGTON.

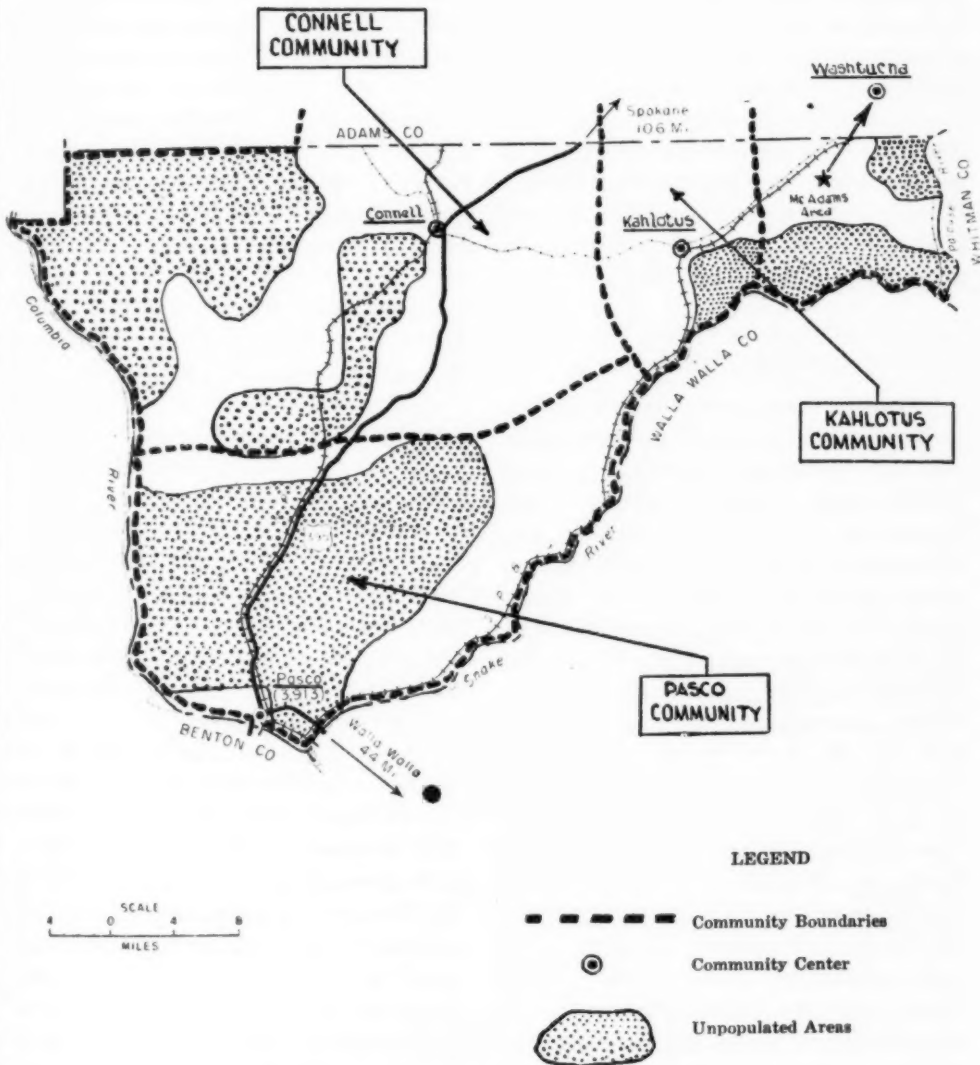


Fig. 2. Communities in Franklin County.

to the larger places, these places became the community centers as well as the trade centers, for the farmers and their families.

The differences in interest between the town and country folk are gradually being replaced by a spirit of cooperation, in an effort to secure the best advantages and facilities for the community. There are, however, no distinct boundaries between the communities. The people on the edges of a community affiliate with one community as much as the other—a clear indication that the community boundaries are still in transition.

Contrasts in Group and Organizational Structures

So-called formally organized groups in Rabun County are likely to be small and are generally divided by sex, status, and special interest. They operate as informally as possible. The dominance of primary group experiences, with their informality, is reflected in the structure and functions of organized groups. Thus the neighborhood loyalties and ways of doing things hinder community integration and the development of county-wide organization. Organizations usually get their impetus and leadership from the outside. Without these, they are likely to disappear. Cooperative organizations (such as the medical and dental association and the purchasing and marketing association of the Farm Security Administration, later the Farmers' Home Administration) collapsed when the agency withdrew its leadership. With the exception of

the Home Demonstration Clubs, the organizations draw the majority of their memberships from the upper income group of farm families.

The farmer organizations functioning in Rabun County include: the Farm Bureau, the Rabun Gap Home Industries Cooperative, the Soil Conservation and Improvement Association, the Home Demonstration Clubs, F.A.A. Clubs and the 4-H Clubs. They are all sponsored by outside leaders. The farmers will take part in an organization that is being formed to meet a crisis, but after it has been met their interest lags.

Social interaction in Rabun County takes place primarily through informal contacts and informal groups. Visiting within kinship groups, with neighbors, at the country store, along the road, at church, in town on Saturdays, and at the courthouse during "court week" is the most popular form. However, most of the visiting takes place within the immediate neighborhood. The exchange of work and tools by farmers within a neighborhood is another informal contact that is highly valued.

By contrast, a wheat farmer of Franklin County prefers to carry on his economic and social group activities through groups which are organized more or less formally. Some of the farmer organizations function on a locality basis, but they are more often based upon the special interest of the farmers, and are often county-wide in scope. Membership in organizations is large but actual participation tends to be relatively small. There

is an overlapping of membership in the different organizations, while several farm families do not belong to any organization.

The farm organizations functioning in Franklin County include: the Grange, the Agricultural Conservation Association, Connell Grain Growers, Kahlotus Cooperative Elevator Association, the Connell Grange Supply, and the Big Bend Electric Cooperative. The Boy and Girl Scouts are very active and include many of the wheat farmers' children. The 4-H Clubs are active in some of the rural areas.

The Grange, Big Bend Electric Cooperative, 4-H Clubs, and the Agricultural Conservation Association received their impetus from the outside; the other farmer organizations were organized from within by the local farmers who run them. The farmer cooperatives in the county are unusually successful. They were organized from within to meet a recognized need that was not being met by any going organization. These cooperatives were copied after others in the State, but it was through the initiative and hard work of the local wheat farmers that they were organized and are successfully functioning.

Informal group activities here consist primarily of visiting, hunting, and fishing. Visiting is not restricted to the vicinity in which a farm family lives, for distance means little to these farmers. Consequently the range of contacts is wide. Most of the families have friends and relatives in town, and visit them frequently. Visiting at the country stores or filling station is

generally absent in Franklin County. There is a minimum of visiting on the streets in town on Saturday. The wheat farmers often form informal groups of four or five friends, on an age-group or special-interest basis, and these groups get together frequently. Small groups of farmers who live in close proximity often pool their resources to build a party telephone system or a grain elevator. There is little exchange of work and tools between wheat farmers primarily because the farm operations must be done at certain times to conserve moisture. Each operator owns a complete outfit of mechanized tools and equipment, which he uses to a maximum during the farming season. Most of the farmers, because of their isolation, have become independent, self-reliant, and self-contained, depending little upon group relationships.

Contrast in Leadership

Although there is little class consciousness in Rabun County, patterns of leadership in the neighborhood are rather rigidly set according to kinship, experiences, and traditions. The individual who usually takes the lead in church and usually assumes the responsibility in cases of emergency is accepted as the established leader of the neighborhood group. Leaders in neighborhood affairs are often inconspicuous, and because of their informal way of doing things it is frequently hard for the outsider to spot them. These leaders often find that they are lost when they try to function above the neighborhood level. When community or county-wide or-

ganizations are established the preference for informal action prevails, and so-called formal organizations function informally.

In Franklin County agricultural leadership comes from all parts of the county and from all segments of the farm population with the exception of the hired farm workers. However, the expression of farm leadership is generally limited to the granges and other farmer associations, and through county politics. Because of the special interests of most organizations and the limited areas served by them, there is frequent overlapping of the leadership in the different organizations. The agricultural leaders are well known to all through their work in formal organizations. They are usually progressive men of middle age or younger who possess the qualities of honesty, modesty, sound judgment, and good speaking ability. Leadership in local agricultural associations and organizations is likely to be a prerequisite to assuming leadership on the county political level, and above the county level.

Contrast in Schools

The consolidated schools in both Rabun and Franklin Counties play an important part in the educational and social life of the people. In both counties a consolidated school building is usually the center of social activities of any community. Although the people have been protestingly reluctant to give up the one-room rural schools, which had been the center of social activities in the rural areas, few rural one-room schools remain.

The so-called mountain schools located in and near Rabun County have been influential in the lives of the farm people and the social organization of the county. Organized around the turn of the century, they are semi-public nonsectarian institutions, supported by both private and public funds. They are primarily industrial or trade schools, established to make available to every neighboring farm child a school, where he can be taught and thus be better equipped to make a living in the county. The Rabun Gap-Nacoochee School, in the northern part of the county, maintains several farm units for families who want to improve themselves by taking adult education while continuing to farm. In addition, there is a school farm on which the children can work as part of their vocational agriculture course and at the same time help pay their way. The students who live any considerable distance away board at the school. One of these mountain schools is frequently in the forefront of its community's self-consciousness, and always it stands in the background wherever community-wide interests are concerned. No real understanding of the operation of social organizations and the people's part in common enterprises is possible in Rabun without an awareness of the way these schools have impinged on the community and the county, and the reactions of the people to the influences they have set in motion.

These mountain schools have influenced the public school system of the

county by encouraging it to have vocational work (including agricultural and commercial courses) taught in all the secondary schools, and by having agricultural and homemaking courses taught in the upper grades of the elementary schools.

In Franklin County the schools are public institutions supported by local and state funds and geared primarily toward college preparation. Vocational courses are now restricted to commercial courses teaching shorthand and typing, but there is some agitation for the inclusion of vocational agriculture in the curriculum of the high school. Perhaps principally because the schools are controlled, supported, and administered by the local school districts they are a motivating force in the communities and are usually the center of community activities. The people take great pride in them and furnish their school districts with adequate funds to maintain well-equipped school plants and good educational standards.

Contrast in the Role of the Churches

The roles of the churches in the lives of the people in Rabun and Franklin Counties are very different. Rabun County has forty churches, or one for every two hundred persons in the population, and six churches outside the county serve some of the people of the county. Twenty-eight churches are in the scattered rural localities. All are Protestant, with only four denominations represented. The Baptist is the leading denominational group in point of numbers, with 23 white churches and one for Negroes

and a total membership of over 2,000. "The Church," in general, is held in esteem by a large majority of the people. The social interaction provided by the churches attracts people to them, although they are probably largely unconscious of this motivation. Church life for many continues to be merely attending the preaching service, with little concern over the church as an organized group. It is difficult to maintain any strong organization in the churches of the county although the organizations and activities built around the churches are numerous and are fairly well attended. They include women's missionary societies, young people's societies, Sunday Schools, revivals, church suppers, homecomings, and Vacation Bible Schools.

Franklin County has only one open-country rural church. It is German Lutheran, located north of Connell. During the homesteading period, Sunday Schools were held at the school houses in several of the rural areas, but only one remains active. The nineteen churches in the county represent fourteen denominations. The Roman Catholic Churches have the largest total membership—they have approximately 25 percent of the total church membership of the county. According to a church census in 1936, less than 30 percent of the county's population were church members. The number of those who take part in church activities is much smaller. The sparseness of settlement in the open-country retarded the establishment of rural churches there, and most rural

families were too far away to take much part.

Few of the wheat-farm families attend church regularly, and some say they haven't gone for years. They are just not strong church goers. They do not seem to consider the absence of church life as a deprivation or a loss. The social interaction provided by the churches attracts townspeople, but it does not seem to influence the farm families to the same extent. Apparently sermons heard over the radio have replaced those of the town churches in the homes of many of the wheat farmers.

Relation of Agencies to Patterns of Organization

Rabun County has a greater dependency upon outside agencies than

does Franklin County. Because of the difference in social organization in the two counties, the agencies function differently.

In Rabun County, they tend to work through established groups whereas in Franklin County they work through individuals. For example, the county agricultural extension agent in Rabun County functions through a county Agricultural Planning Committee and the Farm Bureau, whereas the county agent in Franklin County functions through local leaders and individual farmers.

Agencies in both counties attempt to work with the natural locality grouping. By so doing they probably reach as many farmers and farm families as could be expected.

Ministers on the Move: A Study of Mobility in Church Leadership

By Myles W. Rodehaver†

ABSTRACT

An analysis of the frequency of and reasons for minister's mobility as revealed in a study of 196 ministers in a small, liberal Protestant church. The reasons given for changing from parish to parish are examined in terms of Thomas' "Four Wishes." The rapid turnover of ministers in rural churches is considered in relation to rural leadership and rural institutions.

The study upon which this report is based was instituted in an effort to apply the method of critical analysis to a problem which has concerned many of the Protestant denominations. The problem is that of the

short pastorate¹, the tenure of such brief duration that constructive work on the part of the minister and his people is rendered difficult. With its antecedents in the early days of the Protestant mission, the problem has

† Professor of Rural Sociology St. Lawrence University.

¹ Defined as a pastorate of less than three years' duration.

come down through the years. The function of the short pastorate once was positive in that the urgency of the new gospel for a frontier people required rapid dissemination. Emphasis now, however, is upon building from the foundations so hastily laid and this is not accomplished by fleeting contacts. While the problem is of long standing, its solution has neither been found nor, it would appear, conscientiously sought. The situation is reminiscent of Mark Twain's classic comment on the weather, "Everyone talks about it, but nobody does anything about it." It was in an effort to do something about it, to gather reliable data and to suggest possible solutions, that the present study was undertaken in the spring of 1947.

The universe of study comprised the 402 ministers of a small "liberal" denomination. Those who cooperated were promised anonymity. They were asked to record their moves, giving dates, places, salaries involved, and reasons for moving. In addition, they were requested to offer general reasons for the mobility of ministers and to suggest solutions to the problem. They were encouraged to give frank and candid answers, since it was felt that attitudes are important in a study of this nature. As is the case with survey approaches in which the questionnaire is used, this study suffers from a lack of total response. Sixty percent of the ministers addressed returned the questionnaire. However, not all were complete in their replies. Fourteen were rejected for this reason. Thirty-one ministers

of another denomination, but holding dual fellowship, were excluded from the sample to make the results representative of the denomination studied. The results, then, are based on the answers supplied by 196 ministers having the requisite fellowship status with their denomination.

TABLE 1. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

Region	Number	Percent
New England	104	53.1
Middle Atlantic	40	20.4
South	9	4.6
Middle West	36	18.4
Rocky Mountain	1	0.5
South West	1	0.5
Pacific	5	2.5
Total	196	100.0

Many of the respondents were in middle-life, the mean age being 51.2 years. However, nearly one-fifth were 70 or over, and when the twenty-nine men with inactive status were eliminated the average age dropped to 47.0 years (Table 2).

The men averaged 22.6 years in the ministry, one-half of them having served less than 20 years (Table 3).

The mean income was \$2,719 for the 167 men actively serving churches and

TABLE 2. AGE DISTRIBUTION

Age (Years)	Number	Percent
20-24	2	1.0
25-29	14	7.1
30-34	20	10.2
35-39	29	14.8
40-44	24	12.2
45-49	11	5.6
50-54	17	8.7
55-59	12	6.1
60-69	29	14.8
70 & over	38	19.4
Total	196	99.9

TABLE 3. YEARS OF PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Years of Service	Number	Percent
Under 10	48	24.5
10-19	49	25.0
20-29	28	14.3
30-39	23	11.7
40-49	19	9.8
50 & over	29	14.8
Total	196	100.1

the median was \$2,593 (Table 4). These figures include the rental value of the parsonage if one was provided. The value was estimated at fifteen percent of the base salary and was added to the later.

The short pastorate occurs under two circumstances. First, with a studied policy of moving men in order to accomplish certain ends, as in episcopal-type churches, tenure is likely to be brief, except when the prestige of a local church is sufficient to influence the superintendent's planning. Second, with relative freedom of choice on the part of both contracting parties, as in congregational-type churches, pastorates are sometimes short because freedom of choice and wisdom of choice are not sufficiently correlated! Under the first named condition, in spite of occasional hardships, the system seems to work with at least a modicum of efficiency,

TABLE 4. INCOME DISTRIBUTION

Income (Dollars)	Number	Percent
Under 1,500	13	7.7
1,500-1,999	22	13.1
2,000-2,499	48	28.7
2,500-2,999	27	16.2
3,000-3,999	38	22.8
4,000-4,999	14	8.4
5,000 & over	5	3.0
Total	167	99.9

largely perhaps because the people have come to accept it and to expect incidental maladjustments from time to time. Under the second condition, where neither polity nor policy encourages the practice, the short pastorate seems to have an adverse effect both on the parish and the minister. The denomination studied is of the congregational type. The function of the superintendent is largely advisory. Churches are free to select their ministers with or without the help and guidance of denominational officials. In turn, ministers are free to move from church to church as the demands of the spirit (or the flesh!) may dictate.

One hypothesis of the study is that ministers move about with relative frequency because they lack recognition, the wish for which is a basic motivating factor in human behavior. But there was no wish to set up a straw man and then clothe him in the raiment of made-to-measure cases. The wish for recognition is only part of the classificatory schema which includes the wish for response, for security, and for new experience. Using the Thomas² classification as a frame of reference, the motives of the ministers studied may be categorized. To illustrate: the financial factor appeared in the list of reasons offered for frequent moving. Obviously, *security* is the wish to be satisfied. Men move because they desire an opportunity for "wider service". Here the wish is for new *experience*. Again, they move

² W. I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl*, (Boston: Little Brown Company, 1927).

because they feel that no further constructive work can be done where they are. Here is a felt lack of *response*. And because the city pastorate is attended with greater publicity, the urge to leave the rural field is based upon the wish for *recognition*. But while such a classification is convenient, its very generality fails to provide an adequate explanation. Men move for a variety of reasons. Sometimes the urge is to be explained on the basis of promptings requiring fulfillment. Sometimes the reasons involve factors beyond the control of the ministers themselves. In other words, at times the "system" is to be indicted. Greater clarification will result from an examination of the data presented by the ministers themselves.

On the basis of the answers supplied, nine comprehensive reasons for moving were set up (Table 5). Heading the list, on the basis of the number of times it occurred, was the "financial" reason, which constituted 27.4 percent of the total. Under this heading are included such reasons as insufficient salary and the attraction of a higher salary. It should be borne in

mind that possible guilt feelings may have militated against offering this as a reason for seeking a new pastorate. Previous conditioning operates to make such frankness appear undersirable, since the service motive should be uppermost in the life of the ministry. Hence, it is relatively easy to rationalize on this point. It is possible that the financial reason actually weighed more heavily than the ministers were ready to admit. The basis for this statement exists in the data concerning financial returns for the work. Approximately half the ministers receive less than \$2,500 per year in salary. (Table 3). Further analysis reveals that the mean starting salary in the past ten years has been \$1,603, omitting all student pastorates. The urge to climb the financial ladder has a valid basis.

Second only to the financial reason was the "desire for wider service" which comprised 26.0 percent of the total. Worthy as the sentiment expressed may be, there exists a possibility of rationalization. If it appears impossible to work with the members of a given church, the old admonition

TABLE 5. REASONS FOR MOVING

Reason	Number of Times Offered	Percent
Financial	196	27.4
Desire for Wider Service	186	26.0
Incompatibility	107	15.0
Health	62	8.7
Educational & Cultural Advantages	59	8.3
Attraction of a Larger Place	38	5.3
Lack of Denominational Cooperation	31	4.3
Attraction of a Smaller Place	20	2.8
To Enter the Chaplaincy	7	1.0
Other Reasons	8	1.1
Total	714	99.9

to "shake the dust from off your sandals" is eagerly followed. The rationalization occurs when the *new field* is confused with the *field of wider service*. Another confusion results from equating the larger place with the wider service!

"Incompatibility," offered 15.0 percent of the times, includes many factors. Sometimes it refers to lack of cooperation on the part of parishioners. A factor closely related to this is the "bossism" practiced by certain influential persons in the local church. Here the comments of the ministers are revealing "The parish was too smug" or "There were too many stubborn reactionaries in the church". Sometimes the inability to adjust is to be traced to factors outside of the church itself, including community hostility or indifference.

"Health" was the reason given in 8.7 percent of the cases. Here again is a fertile area for rationalization. There is little reason to question the vast majority of cases in which such a reason was offered. Heavy demands upon a minister's nervous energy undoubtedly affect his health. A certain amount of experimentation to find the proper climatic conditions is indicated by the facts. Yet in some instances "poor health" can become a convenient excuse for failure to adjust to a situation.

Eight and three-tenths percent of the moves were made for "cultural and educational advantages". Here, more than in the other reasons listed, the personal desires of the minister and his family come to the fore. In

some instances the man wished to further his own education in order to improve his status in the denomination. In other instances there was a realization of the inadequacies of certain rural schools. Many moves to city churches were undertaken to overcome this deficiency. Indeed, "educational and cultural advantages" as a reason is closely related to another reason; namely, "the attraction of a larger place".

This "attraction" accounted for 5.3 percent of the total. A minister may desire not only the actual advantages which a larger place offers but also the greater opportunities which he *thinks* exist, plus the prestige which goes with the city church. Here one of the great problems of the rural church comes to light. The rural church is traditionally the "stepping stone" to the city church. Men trained in theological schools for a ministry which is essentially urban in character feel that they are merely marking time until the call comes that will rescue them from their purgatory. One comment emphasized another aspect which, though of real importance, is oftentimes overlooked. "Rural men are of little consequence at our conventions". It is the city man who most often appears in the limelight. It may be argued that the charge is absurd, but the frequency of its occurrence indicates that the slight is felt by rural ministers, and men's attitudes must be given consideration. Such comments as that quoted above reveal a strong wish for recognition. Finally, the attraction of the larger

place is related to the attraction of the greater financial returns.

Of the remaining reasons, "denominational lack" led the others with 4.3 percent. The "lack" does not represent hostility necessarily, although in some cases a decided umbrage was in evidence. The most frequent charge in this connection was that denominational officials had misrepresented churches to prospective candidates, that they pictured budgets in glowing terms, or that they cried, "Peace, Peace" when there was no peace in a given parish! Comments on the seeming indifference of denominational leaders throw light on another aspect of this problem. "A man is put into a church and allowed to rot!" "The superintendent never darkened the door of my church in all the years I was there!" The minister feels that either he or his church is unimportant.

In the continual search for adjustment as complete as possible, some ministers were attracted to smaller places, 2.8 percent of the reasons offered falling in this category. Adjustment difficulties become more evident in an urban environment. In the larger places there is less opportunity for informal contacts. There is a definite lack of that intimate response which some persons require in greater measure than others. After experience in a larger place, there is often a sincere desire to "dig in," to "put down one's roots" in the community.

Finally, war-time service accounted for one percent of the reasons for moving. Entrance into the chaplaincy requires no special comment. While

some psychologists might speak of "patriotic separation" motivated by the desire to escape from one's wife, one's job, or other personally disturbing factors in one's environment, it would be presumptuous to discount the more worthy motive of service which impelled men to leave the relative security of the parish for work which demanded courage and sacrifice.

Regardless of the validity of the reasoning involved, the factors suggested by the ministers themselves are important. Whether or not they represent the *real* reasons, they are the reasons which the men believe to be correctly stated. In other words, they represent attitudes which function in the integration of personality.

In an effort to determine which group in the ministry moves from place to place with the greatest frequency, certain factors were analyzed to see which of them were associated with mobility. Hypotheses were tested, with results not always as expected. For example, it was felt that marital status would affect stability scores³, but the usual stabilizing influence of wife and family were not in evidence. The married ministers moved about as frequently as the unmarried, there being no significant difference. When mean stability scores for the two groups were compared, the

³ Scoring device involving the ratio of length of ministry to number of parishes served. The number of "service years per move" was computed for each man. Thus, if a minister's total length of ministry were twenty years and he had made five moves, his stability score would be 4.

critical ratio⁴ was 1.8. The reason is perhaps to be found in the urge to achieve financial security for the minister's family. The effects, other than financial, upon those family members are obvious, but the urge for financial betterment remains. In this connection it should be noted that two out of every three moves represented an ascent, however slight, up the socioeconomic ladder, while approximately one out of five involved dropping to a lower rung. When the total length of ministry was divided into two periods, comprising the first ten years of service and the period beyond ten years, and the two periods are compared, the figures take on added significance. Movement up the scale is somewhat easier in the early phase of a minister's service. Four out of five moves involve an increase in salary, whereas only one in ten is to a lower level. In the later phase, however, only one-half of the moves are to a higher income level, whereas nearly a third are downward. With respect to horizontal mobility, a similar phenomenon is noted. About one in ten moves in the early ministry are on the same economic level, whereas in the later ministry one in five represent no change in economic status.

Certain other factors, however, were associated with mobility. Men trained in the denomination's own theological schools tended to be more stable than those receiving their training elsewhere. When mean

stability scores were compared the critical ratio was 2.8. Those who entered the ministry after having engaged in a different occupation for a period of time were more stable than those who began their parish work immediately upon graduation, with no gap between high school and college. Here the critical ratio was 2.5. Perhaps the age and greater maturity of these men were factors in bringing about this result. It is possible that experience has taught them that stability has some bearing on the successful achievement of an objective.

As was expected, age and number of years in the ministry were correlated with stability. When age and stability were correlated, the Pearsonian coefficient was .54. The result was .34 when stability and years in the ministry were correlated. While neither figure is high, the correlations are significant. It is evident that frequent moving takes place in the early years of one's ministry. As one respondent has suggested, "The men know that they have to make their connections when they are young and have the bargaining power". This is made clear in the reasons offered for moving by the younger men. The attraction of a larger place and the drive for financial advancement stood high on the list, along with the factor of educational advantages for the minister or his children. Health reasons and incompatibility were advanced more often by the older men, the foregoing reasons being minimized. No apparent difference existed with respect to the desire for wider service, but here

⁴ Critical ratio based on the formulae:

$$\frac{M_1 - M_2}{E_D}$$

the proffered reason, as has been pointed out, may not have been the real reason.

Men with the Doctor of Divinity degree had the highest stability scores of all the respondents. When the mean scores of the honorary doctors was compared with the score for all others, the critical ratio was 6.0. The honorary degrees, however, were a function of stability. In other words, these men received the degree in part because they were stable.

One factor failed to run true to form. The consensus has been that the "successful" men of the denomination are more stable than the "unsuccessful" men. Surprisingly enough this does not appear to be the case. Several qualified judges were asked to submit lists of the twenty "most successful" and the twenty "least successful" ministers. From the returns submitted, composite lists were prepared. While the "most successful" men had a stability score somewhat higher than that of the "least successful," statistical analysis failed to show a significant difference. The critical ratio was 0.7. In other words, in the opinion of the several judges as evinced by their choices, moving frequently did not seem to diminish a man's effectiveness as a parish minister. Examination of the lists reveals that the men chosen as "most successful" have had one or more long pastorates in recent years, such tenure entering into the classification to insure their inclusion in the "successful" category. What may have been overlooked is the fact that early in their ministries

these men also moved about frequently. In fact, some of the shortest pastorates recorded were associated with these "most successful" men!

While stability scores did not appear to have any appreciable bearing on the effectiveness of the ministers, the comparisons of the "most successful" and the "least successful" men did not portray the actual situation without a measure of distortion. The effects of short pastorates are far-reaching and of serious consequence. That the men themselves are cognizant of this fact is apparent from a consideration of their personal comments on the matter. A review of these is revealing. While frequent moving may accomplish some good results, in the opinion of the men the effects are generally detrimental.

The minister's leaving a church may relieve an intolerable situation. Experimentation may uncover a "free pulpit" where the man with a liberal message can carry on his work without a feeling of frustration. Furthermore, a church may rid itself of a misfit, although such action merely transfers the problem to another *locus*. Some of the men felt that moving about keeps men and churches from "getting in a rut". The necessity for continuous readjustment, however, detracts from the merit of this observation. The suggestion that "men are enabled to do an intensive piece of work" may be dismissed as untenable, since the "intensive work" may in actuality be the sort of "flash-in-the-pan" activity to which the men themselves object. Likewise, the sugges-

tion that movers might consider themselves to be "trouble-shooters" employed to build up a church is dismissed as sheer rationalization. The fact that a high rate of mobility "permits several successive churches to get a good man on his way up" appears to offer small advantage indeed to the churches involved.

Most of the men, including those with low stability scores, recognized the dangers inherent in the pattern. The effects on character were evaluated with particular insight. The danger exists that men will "run away" from a difficult situation, that they will dodge their responsibilities as ministers. No problems are solved by putting them out of mind, nor is their solution necessarily any nearer merely because they have been transferred to the shoulders of another person. The ministers make no lasting impression on the community. Their families have no roots. Constant moving represents a drain on financial resources, and the family is affected by way of a lower plane of living. Ultimately, according to the men themselves, ministers become cynical or, disillusioned, they leave the ministry for some other field of endeavor.

The church "loses face" in the community when it has a reputation for being unable to hold its ministers. Parishioners, discouraged by constant change and a lack of continuity in the program, drop away. Certainly the church loses when it must expend a disproportionate amount of its energies in locating a new minister as the result of one brief pastorate after an-

other. While frequent periods without the services of a minister may operate, as one suggested, to build up a reserve of lay leadership, the evidence points in the direction of greater success when minister and people cooperate in the venture. Leaderless congregations may survive, or even flourish for a time, but such is the exception.

Some ministers, perhaps through the very process of winnowing and sifting, seem to find their place and settle down to pastorates of relatively long duration. Others, for one reason or another, appear to be constantly on the move. The records show that each man on the average, has served four churches (Table 6). About a third of the men (33.6 percent), however, have been "settled" over more than four churches. This takes on added significance when it is realized that many of the men involved are in the younger age groups, a factor which makes it possible to assume that they have not made all the moves they are going to make before retirement age. A breakdown of this highly-mobile group shows the extent of the pattern.

TABLE 6. NUMBER OF CHURCHES SERVED

Churches	Number	Percent
1	10	5.1
2	34	17.4
3	43	21.9
4	43	21.9
5	23	11.7
6	14	7.1
7	11	5.6
8	4	2.0
9	5	2.6
10	6	3.1
11 & over	3	1.5
Total	196	99.9

Eleven and seven-tenths percent have served five churches. Seven and one-tenth percent have ministered to six churches. Five and six-tenths percent have been in seven churches. Two percent have moved seven times and find themselves in their eighth church. Two and six-tenths percent have "tried out" nine churches, another 3.1 percent, ten churches. One and five-tenths percent have been in eleven or more churches.

The effects of the problem, its extent, and some of the underlying causes have now been mentioned. Some of the solutions suggested incorporate proposals set forth by the ministers themselves. Others are the writer's own. Some are not feasible, perhaps, while others have definite merit.

Because of a frank recognition that the basic cause may lie within the individual minister, it was urged that the denomination take steps to weed out men who are obviously unfitted for the ministry. Presumably this process would begin before ordination. More rigid requirements for entrance into theological schools would, in the opinion of some respondents, eliminate many "problems" at the start. A weeding out process during the course of training would eliminate others. Others suggested special training for the rural ministry, since it is the rural churches which, with few exceptions, fail to hold their ministers. Other men would purge their own ranks of incompetents, although no machinery for this delicate task was suggested.

An internship program would enable young men to gain experience, to

"get the feel" of the ministry, to have a taste of the "success psychology" before encountering difficult situations. A "big brother" system reminiscent of the swimmer's "buddy system" would make someone responsible for younger men as they try to make an adjustment to their new work. One suggestion involved a five-year apprenticeship before ordination. Another proposed a "minister to ministers," someone to whom a man could take his problems before they became insurmountable.

A counseling service, under denominational aegis, would provide an instrument for resolving problems where ministers found themselves in difficulties. Another suggestion called for an unbiased commission to study the facts in the case and make recommendations. Still another involved the abolition of annual contracts in favor of a "gentlemen's agreement" to give the minister a greater feeling of security. An informal understanding (legal contracts would appear to militate against the "professionalization" which some of the men urged) that a minister be given a minimum of five years to establish his program would help. It might be added that a more adequate pension system, plus group life and health insurance, would provide a feeling of security. In this connection, salary equalization and subsidies would obviate the necessity of the quest for higher salaries.

Because the "candidating system" fails at times to place the right man in the right church, some of the ministers would have it abolished in favor

of a more businesslike approach, incorporating personal interviews and the analysis of previous records.

The wish for recognition impels men to move in the hope, ultimately, of being called to an "important" church. It is not enough to assert that *all* churches are important. There is a hierarchy. The feeling is common in the ministry that there are certain "D.D. Churches". If a man succeeds in "landing" one of them, recognition is supposed to be certain and inevitable. While such a feeling may not have a basis in fact, it does indicate an attitude which colors a minister's approach to his work. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the attitudes of men set apart for leadership are important in the life of any movement.

The short pastorate has deleterious effects upon the growth of the local church and, therefore, on the progress of the denomination as a whole. In the latter sense it represents, perhaps, just another aspect of Leopold von Wiese's historic dilemma of the church. More important to the rural sociologist is the effect upon one of the important institutions of the rural community. That the phenomenon of the short pastorate, though it is denomination-wide in scope, is asso-

ciated with the rural church is indicated by the fact that the pastorate of ten years, or even five, is extremely rare in the rural churches. Many an urban church of the denomination studied can boast of pastorates of ten years or more. The ministers do the greater share of their moving in their early years, and these years are spent in the smaller places. The implication is obvious. If a high mobility rate relegates the rural church to the status of the stepping stone, we are failing to provide the kind of leadership which the rural community needs. The quality of the rural community is measured by the effectiveness of its institutions. If rural community planning comes within our orbit, we must recognize the problem of the short pastorate and see it as part of the larger problem of leadership-mobility in rural institutions. The high turnover of rural teachers, the "practice" practice of young physicians in rural areas before they move to the city, the apprenticeship on the small town paper before the call to the metropolitan daily, these are part and parcel of the phenomenon which draws from the rural community its leadership potential. It is from this frame of reference that the problem of the short pastorate is seen in its full implications for rural life.

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Horace Greeley, Agrarian Exponent of American Idealism

By Roland Van Zandt†

ABSTRACT

Horace Greeley's utopianism is interpreted in terms of his agricultural backgrounds and his agrarian philosophy. Greeley became an ardent disciple of Fourier and played an active part in organizing many American utopian communities. His agrarian critique of contemporary society led him to anticipate many of the viewpoints which have come to dominate the modern mind.

The Background of Greeley's Agrarian Philosophy

The city had not absorbed him into its typical life . . . he never fitted naturally as part of the hurrying, business-minded crowd; he was not of that crowd and never could be. He longed to get away from it.

—HENRY L. STODDARD

If the American of the twentieth century would like to be dropped suddenly into the distant world of his own origins and become intimately associated with an experience which only survives as a condiment in the nation's imagination, he could not do better than to read Horace Greeley's account of his early childhood and youthful wanderings.

The early chapters of Greeley's autobiography, *Recollection of a Busy Life*, read like an idyl of some forgotten Arcadia.

He was born, according to this account, into a long line of pioneer farmers on February 3, 1811, at Amherst, New Hampshire. His grandfather "owned and worked small farms successively in Hudson, Pelham, Nottingham, and Londonderry".¹ His father was a farmer, either as an owner or day laborer, in New Hampshire, Westhaven, Vt., and finally in Erie County,

Pa. Greeley himself worked in the fields as a farm laborer until he was fourteen years old when he started his newspaper career by becoming apprenticed to a printer in East Poultney, Vt. Greeley always considered this divergence from the familial pattern a major mistake, and in language which has been familiar to us since the time of Virgil, extolled the life of his ancestors:

Happily, living in frugal plenty, almost wholly on their own products, spending much of their time in vigorous exercise in the open air, and having but one doctor within call, they had great tenacity of life; so that the funerals were few and far between.²

The same opinion was expressed about the people of his own life-time who were still living in his ancestral village of Londonderry: "Simple, moral, diligent, God-fearing, the vices of modern civilization have scarcely penetrated their quiet homes. . . ." ³

† University of Minnesota.

¹ *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York: 1869), p. 35.

² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

In old age, speaking about his own life, he declared, "I should have been a farmer. All my riper tastes incline to that blessed calling. . . . Were I now to begin my life anew, I would choose to earn my bread by cultivating the soil."⁴ Such statements give the proper orientation of Greeley's mind. They place him in the same agrarian — not to say "pastoral" — tradition that has been an important part of the American consciousness since the time of Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*.

The basic clue to Greeley's mind is that it was formed in the period between 1811 and the date of his arrival in New York City in 1831, and was ever after oriented to an agrarian mode of existence. It is to be remembered in this connection that Jefferson, the formulator of American agrarian philosophy, had been dead only five years when Greeley arrived in New York. Indeed, the America of his imagination and dreams was the same America of Jefferson and his contemporaries, and this was a country predominantly agrarian, ruled by farmers and planters, and geared to their political philosophy. Thus Greeley was fond of saying throughout his life that "the great men who framed . . . the Federal Constitution, who ruled the country throughout the next generation, and thus laid the foundations of our National policy, were . . . for the most part connected . . . with the Farming or Planting interest..."⁵

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 295.

⁵ *Political Economy* (Boston: 1875), p. 108.

To maintain this interest and the agrarian philosophy became the ruling passion of Greeley's life.

This passion is the common denominator behind the bewildering variety of his opinions and activities. If Franklin was considered "the farmer's sage" we may concur with Greeley's contemporaries and call him "the farmer's friend". Where the first man crystallized the farmer's workaday philosophy, the second crystallized his complaints, and, in a more complicated age than Franklin's, became a spearhead in the farmer's fight against new elusive forces. The *New York Tribune*, which was one of the first newspapers in the country to devote regular space to agriculture, became the organ of an agrarian crusade. All the major problems and issues of the day were echoed in its pages, but reformulated on the basis of an agrarian philosophy. Likewise, on the lyceum platform and in magazine articles, in books and impromptu speeches, Greeley hewed to the line of his main agrarian thesis.

Examples of this consistency may be found in two of the major obsessions of his career, the problem of land reform and the question of the tariff. To forestall a repetition of the Panic of 1837 with its intense suffering both on the farm and in the city, Greeley believed there could be nothing more effective than a wide and even distribution of the nation's land. Indeed, he believed that this solution was intrinsic to the whole problem. By reforming the land system in order to outlaw speculation and monopoly, by giving

the average family a chance to possess its own farm, he believed the unemployed of the cities would disperse over the land where they could produce their own necessities, and he believed the farmer himself, now exploited by the financier and monopolist, would be given a new opportunity to make farming a successful occupation. Suppose, he suggested,

The usage and the law were so changed that no man was permitted, in this boasted land of equal rights, to hold as his own more than half a square mile of arable soil (which is enough for fifty men to cultivate) so long as a single person needing land in the community should remain destitute of any, what a mighty and beneficent transformation would be effected in the reward of labor and the condition of the laboring class! Then, instead of a constant increase in the proportion of landless seekers for something to do . . . we should see a continual division and subdivision of large estates, with a steady increase in the number and proportion of small proprietors, each his own employer and his own laborer, whereby the mass of landless seekers for work as hirelings or tenants would be rapidly diminished.⁶

This was a conscious application of the principles of the Declaration of Independence to the problem of land reform, and though the procedure necessarily had its whimsical side, Greeley could not have been more serious about its intrinsic validity. He offered his plan as an expression of

the Founders' ideal of a nation of small independent farmers. In agitating for homestead exemption he re-enforced his plan with a concomitant belief of the Founders that a nation of independent owners is essential to a Republican form of government. He held that the free homestead is "one of the cardinal principles of a Republican polity", and that "the enjoyment of Inviolable Homes shall be commensurate with the existence of Republican Freedom".⁷

Greeley's stand on the tariff issue also reveals how his mind was centralized in an agrarian philosophy, though this is at first not so apparent and has created difficulties for some of our scholars. Vernon Louis Parrington, for instance, associated the policy of Protection with the conservative tradition of American capitalism, and therefore concluded that Greeley, who was obviously one of the luminaries of our liberal tradition, had been inconsistent in upholding Protection, or at best the victim of "the Federalist-Whig prepossessions of his youth . . ."⁸ But such a statement hardly bears investigation, and it ignores the context of Greeley's thought.

It must be remembered that Greeley was a product of American society as it existed from 1811 to 1831, and as late as 1830 approximately eighty per cent of the American people gainfully employed were still engaged in agriculture. Furthermore, American manufacturing as late as 1850 was still not functioning "fully on a fac-

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

⁶ *Hints Toward Reforms* (New York: 1857), pp. 313-14.

⁸ *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York: 1930), II, 251.

tory basis."⁹ Home manufactures in the form of the "putting-out" system was still a familiar part of our economic life. During Greeley's formative years, however, home manufactures were, with the exception of the early textile mills, the predominant form of manufacturing known; and like most Americans until after the Civil War, Greeley could not begin to envision the urban-industrial civilization which would rise with scientific technology. It is a simple fact that the tone of this rustic American more surely echoes the eighteenth century world of Benjamin Franklin than it does the age of the railroad builders.

Seen in this light, Greeley's dream of a self-sufficient nation of small farms, with manufactures occupying a subsidiary position in the form of household and village crafts, becomes completely plausible; and by the same token his stand on the tariff becomes consistent with his whole line of thought. He believed that a tariff on imported manufactures would strengthen our agrarian economy and benefit our farmers by giving encouragement to our "manufactures". In other words, a tariff on imported manufactures would create nuclei of manufacturing villages and towns in our own country which would afford a domestic market for the surplus products of our farmers. This situation would eliminate the necessity of throwing our economy on the mercy and caprices of foreign tastes and markets. Furthermore, the parasitic

middleman who made a living handling the products of someone else's labor would be eliminated; the farmers themselves would have some control over their markets; manufacturing and agricultural people would have direct contact with each other and form a fraternity of common interest. At the bottom of Greeley's program is the belief that the country will remain agricultural, that manufacturing (Greeley never dreamed of "Industry" in the modern sense, and always used the word in the sense of "labor") will not become a separate interest of its own, and that the largest organizational unit needed for self-sufficiency is the Township.

However naive Greeley's program seems to us today—missing as it does the significance of the geographical basis of manufacturing, and the dynamics of a new form of wealth—it was plausible enough in its own time to capture the allegiance of "the mass of farmers north and west",¹⁰ and to be appealed to in the name of Franklin, Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Jackson, and a host of governors and statesmen. Greeley is very explicit about the opinions of the Founders, and quotes them directly to support his statements. A point which he makes again and again is that the Founders who favored the protection of domestic manufactures were primarily motivated by a desire to help agriculture.

The Founders of this Republic—themselves either farmers by vocation or the representatives

⁹ Harold F. Williamson, ed., *The Growth of the American Economy* (New York: 1946), p. 243.

¹⁰ Parrington, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

of farmers mainly—deliberately and thoughtfully determined to protect and develop Home Manufactures, and that they did this in the conviction that they thereby promoted the interest and enhanced the gains of American Agriculture.¹¹

As late as 1870 Greeley championed Protection with arguments that were anchored in a pre-railroad age of home manufactures. An agrarian dies hard, as John Taylor of Caroline, James Fenimore Cooper, John Randolph, and many others during the early part of the nineteenth century have clearly shown. And who is to pass judgment on them? For the first time in the history of man agriculture as the basic pattern of life was being replaced by a new form of culture. Since man is still trying to register this fact, perhaps Horace Greeley may be pardoned his belief that America would remain an agrarian nation of self-sufficient townships.

This belief was best illustrated in Greeley's practical attempt to erect a more perfect agrarian society by neutralizing the apparent evils, and certainly the hostility, of an incipient industrialism. The height of this attempt was during a three year period when, due to the extreme crisis of the depression following the Panic of 1837, he espoused the extreme doctrine of Fourierism. Greeley's relationship with "Associationism" thus gives us a picture of his agrarian philosophy in action when it was most completely and systematically formed, and allows us to evaluate its

strength and weakness when confronted with the initial stages of American industrialism.

The Utopian Application of Greeley's Agrarian Philosophy

Attractive industry, the dream of the past age, the aspiration of the present, shall be the fruition and joy of the next. The ultimate and thorough remedy, I believe, is found in association.

Like John Taylor fifty years before and Hamlin Garland fifty years after, Greeley entered the field of agrarian reform because of a shocking sense of discrepancy between what agriculture should be and what it actually is, and each man in turn linked the plight of agriculture with the enmity of some other power and attraction which were usually associated with capitalism or urban-industrialism.

Greeley often said,

The position and sphere of the independent, virtuous, contented Farmer, has from earliest time been pointed at as one of the most fortunate and healthful, mentally as well as physically, that earth can afford . . . He would seem to be marked out for integrity and elevation of sentiment . . . And yet, on practical acquaintance we find him quite often another being—narrow, prejudiced, and selfish . . . a foe to other men's good and his own.¹²

And this is not all. The farmer's sons have no love for his vocation, and are leaving their ancestral calling for the more attractive life of our cities. Agri-

¹¹ *Political Economy*, p. 133.

¹² *Hints Toward Reforms*, pp. 62-63.

culture is in a state of decay, and the nation is being corrupted by new urban values.

From the noblest and richest rural homestead, you will see the youthful heir eagerly hieing to the distant city, there to consecrate years to the exhibition of sarsenets to simpering, shopping misses, or to the service of some six-by-eight subterranean money-changer's den . . . Talent, knowledge, and skill, which are greatly needed in the sphere of rural life, crowd and jostle each other on the city's pavements, and often sell to Capital for a month's livelihood some happy invention . . . which should have insured a competence for life.¹³

It is to be noted in such passages that Greeley did not compare two ways of life, as he did condemn an actual life in the light of an old ideal. He condemned contemporary life, not because it deviated from agricultural life *per se*, but because it deviated from the ideal agricultural life. The emphasis was important. It meant that first of all he saw more clearly the flagrant contrast between the American ideal and the reality; and second, that he supported a plan for social reorganization which re-stated an agrarian idealism that had never been too "realistic" from the viewpoint of actual American conditions, and that was becoming more and more untenable. Though this meant that in the long run his plan had to fail because of its archaic philosophy, the fact remains that in his own day his ideas were still close enough to the

actual form of society to have immense vitality. Furthermore, in 1840 the agrarian ideal and the actual state of American society were so close together that any attempt to unite them—even if it meant socialism—seemed like an act of patriotism rather than treason.

In the early 1840's Greeley was introduced to a plan for social reorganization which seemed to afford a practical basis for the fulfilment of his dreams of the good society. It was a time when America was again being fertilized by European thought, and just as the agrarian doctrines of the Physiocrats gave many new directions to the social and economic thought of late eighteenth century America, so the doctrines of the Fourierites had a profound influence during the mid-nineteenth century.

Greeley was introduced to Fourierism by Albert Brisbane, the son of a large American landowner who first saw the light while reading Fourier's *Treatise on Domestic and Agricultural Association*. Brisbane had had two years of study under the personal direction of the master in France, and then, returning to spread the gospel in America, published in 1840 his *Social Destiny of Man; or, Association and Reorganization of Industry*. Realizing that the reform-minded editor of the *Tribune* would certainly give him a sympathetic hearing, Brisbane gave a copy of his book to Greeley and thus gained a more capable zealot than himself.

Greeley's interest in Fourierism extended from his first meeting with

¹³ *Ibid.*

Brisbane in 1840 until 1847 when he conducted a newspaper debate on the subject with H. J. Raymond of the *Courier & Enquirer*. During that period, which saw the rise and fall of between 27 and 33 Fourieristic "Phalanxes,"¹⁴ the editor of the *Tribune* became the movement's "acknowledged leader,"¹⁵ was "responsible for the stir that it made,"¹⁶ and through lyceum lectures and newspaper articles, and actual participation in Associationist experiments themselves, constantly kept the movement in the public eye. Between 1842 and 1843 he invested \$5,000 in "Sylvania," a settlement devoted exclusively to agriculture in Pike County, New York,¹⁷ and was an active member of the "North American Phalanx" at Red Bank, New Jersey—the most successful and long-lived of all the settlements, and the one which "came probably nearest to the ideal of the 'Phalanx'".¹⁸ In 1844, when Brook Farm swung over to the cause, it was

¹⁴The article on "Communitistic Settlements" in the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. IV, p. 99, gives the larger figure; whereas F. A. Bushee in an article entitled "Communitistic Societies of the United States" (*Political Science Review*, XX, 1905, 625-664) gives the smaller figure. According to both writers only three or four Phalanxes lasted beyond 1847, and the average life of the community was 15 months.

¹⁵Henry L. Stoddard, *Horace Greeley, Printer, Editor, Crusader* (New York: 1946), p. 84.

¹⁶Don C. Seitz, *Horace Greeley, Founder of the New York Tribune* (Indianapolis: 1926), p. 122. On the whole, Seitz' treatment of the socialistic activities of Greeley is superficial and inaccurate.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹⁸M. Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States* (New York & London: 1903), p. 100.

done mostly "through Greeley's constant proselyting".¹⁹ He became one of the Vice-Presidents of the new organization, and helped to edit the *Harbinger* when it replaced the *Dial*. All during this period the powerful organ of the *Tribune* was kept open to the Fourierist cause, Albert Brisbane contributing weekly articles from 1841 to 1843, and the editor himself contributing an occasional article until the famous debate with Raymond terminated his interest, and, in the opinion of Greeley's latest biographer, "finished Fourierism in the United States."²⁰

It may well be asked what special appeal Fourier's plan for the reorganization of society had for the editor of the *Tribune*? In a lecture entitled "The Social Architects" Greeley reviewed the utopian schemes of such men as Plato, Harrington, Saint Simon and Robert Owen, and came to the conclusion that Fourier's plans were "far less imperfect in themselves than any other, and more likely to lead to beneficent results".²¹ But this only stated a preference. Why, for instance, did Greeley choose the plans of Fourier rather than those of Robert Owen? A partial answer may be found perhaps in a statement by Edward S. Mason: "While both Fourier and Owen looked to an abolition of the differences between town and country, Fourier's ideal was an agrarian-handicraft economy, Owen's a combination of agriculture and factory manufac-

¹⁹Stoddard, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

²⁰J. Parton, *The Life of Horace Greeley* (New York: 1855), p. 205.

²¹*Hints Toward Reforms*, p. 282.

ture".²² The emphasis on a pre-industrial state of agriculture in Fourier's plan is important, and how clearly this emphasis suggests the anomalous character of the plan! It appeared almost a generation after the Owenite movement of the 1820's and yet it placed even less importance on the reality of industrialism. And this marks the difference between Owen, the practical-minded English businessman, and Fourier, the religious theorist. It has been said that "it is hard to imagine anyone further removed from contemporary life than Fourier. He was oblivious of . . . the revolutionary changes in production technique associated with the industrial revolution".²³ Greely rejected the questionable religious theory behind Fourier's plan, but accepted in full its practical suggestions for the reorganization of society as an agrarian society. He was interested in Fourierism foremost and always because it allowed him to express his belief that "it is the mission of the age to regenerate and dignify Agriculture, by rendering it practically and intellectually an expansive vocation".²⁴

Fourier's plan was uniquely adapted to the furtherance of this end. It called for the reorganization of society into self-sufficient areas roughly equivalent to the Township. Each area was owned and controlled by three or four hundred families who lived together in a central edifice. There was

a division of labor according to the abilities and desires of the individuals. Agriculture was basic; the various crafts and manufactures were subsidiary. Cultural and social interests were important communal activities. Education was central, and reflected the whole purpose of the organization. As Greeley said, from earliest infancy children

Are to be familiarized with the various processes of Agriculture, Manufactures, and the Arts; they are to see labor, however rude or repulsive, the main source of honor and distinction, as well as wealth; and they are to be thus taught to seek the knowledge and skill which shall fit them for eminence in the domain of Industry, and to arrest the earliest opportunity of winning her cherished rewards.²⁵

Labor and culture were combined in this scheme of things. The purpose was to achieve an "organic society" in which all the members participated personally in every activity, menial or cultural, which contributed to their complete development. This was one reason why the "Phalanx" had to be self-sufficient: it was believed, as Greeley said, that "a diversity of pursuits is indispensable to . . . [the] enduring prosperity" of a person or of a region, and that no single "calling can employ and reward the varied capacities of male and female, young and old, robust and feeble".²⁶ Fourierism was therefore opposed to the types of specialization which placed, for in-

²² *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, "Charles Fourier," Vol. VI, p. 403.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 402.

²⁴ *Hints Toward Reforms*, p. 65.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 286-87.

²⁶ *Political Economy*, p. 19.

stance, all the manufactures of the country in isolated sections, or all the trade in the hands of special groups. Competition, which led to specialization, and which pitted man against man for the sake of private monetary gain, was also outlawed. Cooperation was intrinsic to the whole plan: only cooperation made it possible for families to till the soil without the waste in resources and talent that was co-existent with the "isolated" farmstead and the competitive system. And this was one of Greeley's cardinal ideas. He believed the sordidness and frustration of farm life were the result of an "inefficient" competitive system. If farm life—the traditional pattern of life in America—was to have the attractions, facilities and opportunities that were drawing the young people into the factitious life of the city, then it must be conducted within the cooperative framework of "Associationism". This, then, was the reply that Greeley made to the new economic forces which he believed were corrupting our agrarian society.

Greeley's agrarian critique of contemporary society led him to anticipate many of the viewpoints which have come to dominate the modern mind. No one, for instance, has had a finer sense of what Carlyle called the "cash-nexus" — the bond of money that creates discord rather than harmony, and that splits society into interests and factions. Though he was too enthusiastic in condemning the city as an iniquitous interest in itself

which did nothing but feed upon the surrounding countryside, he was right in concluding that urbanization was giving rise to vast new artificial attractions which were not related to an agrarian—and therefore traditionally American—mode of existence. And he was most sound in saying that a new culture was arising which divorced art and intellect from the practical life of the nation. Finally, at the heart of his vision is this burden of the modern spirit, the anxious realization that our society has lost some of its old moorings and has wandered into places of darkness.

Though the attempt to recapture a unity of purpose on the arcadian level Greeley contemplated is no longer even an academic question, the attempt was at least feasible in 1840, and that is why, together with all the Americans of his generation, Greeley could be so articulate about the dream of his forefathers. And if today America had been so transformed as to have lost all practical connection with this ancient dream, we can understand how it is possible for the appeal to idealism to be mute today, frozen on the fibers of the mind, while the country passes through an era in which wars are fought "without patriotism".²⁷ And we can understand how Greeley's utopian plans were disseminated with a fanaticism which was not considered archaic, or subversive.

²⁷ Sherwood Anderson, *Winesburg, Ohio*, Penguin edition (New York: 1946), p. 48.

NOTES

Edited by Robin M. Williams, Jr.

RESTDY OF WAKE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

About twenty-five years ago, Drs. Carle C. Zimmerman and Carl C. Taylor did a study of the rural organization of Wake County, North Carolina. (*Rural Organization: A Study of Primary Groups in Wake County, N. C.*, AESB 245, August, 1922.) This was one of a series of studies conducted in cooperation with the U.S.D.A. under the influence of the late Dr. Galpin. The Wake County study as well as the others in the series are still referred to and quoted extensively in rural sociological literature.

A restudy is now underway by the Department of Rural Sociology at N. C. State College. In the first phase of the restudy, an attempt will be made to follow the same methodology as was used in the original study. Several thousand cards were distributed to the children through the rural schools. The parents of the children were asked to answer a few simple questions. The most important question was: What is the name of the neighborhood in which you live? A very large proportion of the cards were returned as a result of the cooperation of the school officials. This will enable us

to outline the neighborhood areas as was done in the original study. Other parts of the original study will be duplicated in so far as possible.

It is anticipated that some of the original groupings will have disappeared and others will have come into existence. A personal follow-up will be made to determine why these changes have occurred.

A second phase of the study is also underway. Two man months have been spent in a detailed delineation of the rural sociological-geographical areas of the county. All the new techniques of neighborhood-community delineation have been employed in this phase of the study. As a result it will be possible to compare areas as delineated by the two techniques. Revisits will be made to those areas in which discrepancies occur with respect to social groupings.

With the 1922 Taylor-Zimmerman study as a bench mark, we believe that the restudy will be of considerable importance in the understanding of change in rural society.

SELZ C. MAYO.

N. C. State College.

LIBRARY STUDY, PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY, MARYLAND

The Prince Georges County Memorial Library, established in July 1946, requested, through the County Library Board, the assistance and guidance of the Department of Sociology of the University of Maryland in finding the answer to a number of questions which would greatly facilitate the establishment of adequate library services for the county.

First, the library planners needed to know the location of the natural groupings of people and their social and economic centers. In response to this request, the research staff of the Department of Sociology, with the help and assistance of the librarian,

county agricultural extension and home agents, and several well-informed residents of the county, delineated the communities and neighborhoods and trade areas and located the social and economic centers of the county. Schools and churches were located as were all actively functioning social and civic organizations. By the use of these materials, the library staff was able to plan more intelligently the library services for the communities and neighborhoods through bookmobile service, branch libraries, and community libraries and stations.

In order to be of further service to the people, the library staff wished to know

more about the cultural, economic, social and educational backgrounds, levels of living, and reading habits and desires. Again the County Board requested the assistance of the Department of Sociology in gathering and analyzing specific information pertaining to these questions. To accomplish this, a joint research project was instituted by the Department of Sociology, with the Maryland Agricultural Experiment Station, the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the Prince Georges County Memorial Library cooperating.

The purpose of the total project is to provide information basic to the formation and functioning of a County Library in Prince Georges County, Maryland by:

1. Further defining the communities and neighborhoods in the county, so that the citizens of the county may be served at the appropriate centers by the bookmobile and other library facilities.
2. An analysis of the library facilities now being used by the families of the county with a view to determining their availability and adequacy.
3. Determining the library needs, desires and preferences of the families of the county to aid the County Library in planning their programs and services.
4. Analyzing the characteristics of the population as a basis for planning specific library services.
5. Providing basic information on levels of living of the families of the county.

The study includes information on approximately 1,300 families and 4,000 individual family members. Two schedules are being used, the one dealing largely with the characteristics of the family as a whole, and the other with individual family members. A family schedule is being taken on each family surveyed. The individual reader interest schedule is being taken on each member of the family household over twelve years of age. Both schedules are precoded for the use of punched card equipment. The eighty question are all being put on one card.

Area sampling techniques are being used, with different procedures for the rural and urban areas of the county. The Bureau of the Census drew the sample for the metropolitan area and the University research staff the sample for the rural area. This dual type of sample was necessary because of the nature of the population. The western half of the county is densely populated, a part of the greater metropolitan area of Washington, D. C., and contains over 80 percent of the county's population located in this area. The eastern half of the county is rural, sparsely populated, and one of the leading tobacco areas of Maryland.

The study is somewhat unusual in that the enumeration is being done by local volunteer workers. In the rural area the enumeration was done by members of each community with the community leaders taking charge of the survey in their own areas. In the metropolitan area the enumeration is being done through community organizations such as American Legion posts, Volunteer Fire Department, Women's Clubs, Community Clubs. The volunteer workers in the rural areas were surprisingly successful in completing their enumeration in good order. This is due in large measure to the enthusiasm which the county library workers have stimulated throughout the county. Although the problems are somewhat different and more difficult, it is to be hoped that the method will be equally successful in the metropolitan area. The greatest disadvantage in using volunteer workers is that enumeration progresses slowly and the instruction needs to be frequently repeated.

The work of the Joint Committee of the American Library Association and the Rural Sociological Society has uncovered a great amount of interest in the field of library studies. Numerous requests for information on this study are being received, and within the state of Maryland a number of county library boards have already requested that similar studies be made in their counties.

HAROLD HOFFSOMMER.

University of Maryland.

CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by Walter C. McKain, Jr.†

Publications Received

(*Indicates bulletins reviewed in this issue. Numbers appearing by each review refer to corresponding number in the list of publications.)

1. Allred, Charles E. *Classified List of Courses Offered by Departments of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Land Grant Colleges, 1947-48*. Tennessee Agr. Expt. Sta. Mono. 236. 29 pp. Knoxville, June 1948.
- *2. Anderson, A. H. and Hill, Randall C. *Rural Communities and Organizations—A Study of Group Life in Ellis County, Kansas*. Kansas Agr. Expt. Sta. Circ. 143. 51 pp. Manhattan, Mar. 1948.
3. Behrendt, Richard F. *Inter-American Economic Relations, Problems and Prospects*. Committee on International Economic Policy. 405 W. 117th St. 99 pp. New York, Feb. 1948.
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Rural Organization

[2, 19] The Bureau of Agricultural Economics, in cooperation with a number of land-grant colleges and universities has examined the social organization of rural people in 24 counties, representing the major type of farming areas in the United States. The purpose of these studies is threefold: "(a) to analyze the types of groups in which rural people are organized and the patterns of group relationships through which they participate in local and non-local programs and services, (b) to analyze the ways in which agencies relate themselves and their programs to these types of organizations and patterns of group relationships and (c) to compare, by types of farming areas, trends in the different types of organizations—formal and informal, local and non-local, etc."

In some instances the reports will be issued by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics; in some, the bulletins will be published jointly with Agricultural Experiment Stations; and in others, publication will be sponsored by land-grant colleges and universities or by private concerns. For example, *Rural Communities and Organiza-*

tions—*A Study of Group Life in Ellis County, Kansas*, was issued by the Kansas Agricultural Experiment Station in cooperation with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, while *Rural Social Organization in Litchfield County, Connecticut*, was published by the Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station and *On the Edge of the Black Wax, A Cultural Survey of Bell County, Texas*,** was released by Washington University at St. Louis. Attention is called to the publication arrangement so that persons interested in the entire series may be able to locate the individual reports.

This is the first time that a comparative analysis of rural organization in the United States on a comprehensive scale has been attempted. Although each monograph bears the distinctive imprint of the region it represents, a common frame of reference has been employed in each analysis. Thus, both the kinds and degrees of social organization that exist in the counties may be compared. For this reason the complete series will represent more than the sum of the separate reports. Accordingly, it is planned, first, to review each bulletin separately in the *Current Bulletins Review* section and, then, to present a review of the entire series.

The first part of *Rural Communities and Organizations—A Study of Group Life in Ellis County, Kansas*, contains a description of the major rural organizations: the local-ity groups, the institutionalized organizations such as the schools and the churches, the formal groups, the governmental agencies, and the informal groups. This is followed by an analysis of the factors that have given rise to the county's social organization and that condition social participation in Ellis County. It was found that rural people in Ellis County, like others in the Plains region, are subject to the peaks of prosperity and the sloughs of depression. Their social organization shows the effects of nature's bounty and nature's harshness. Even more important to an understanding of the social organization of Ellis County

is an appreciation of the role of the Roman Catholic Church. Early settlers in Ellis County were Russian-Germans. They lived in agricultural villages at first and their church life has remained under the care of the Capuchin Fathers. Later they adopted the dispersed homestead type of settlement but their group life has remained "Church-centered." In 1935 oil was discovered in Ellis County. The introduction of new occupations and new sources of wealth has posed some problems to the residents of the County, but in general the pre-existing forms of social organization have prevailed.

Rural Social Organization in Litchfield County, Connecticut, is reinforced by and, in turn, reenforces the basic value system of its inhabitants. A firm regard for independence, respect for orderliness, conservatism and caution, and a pragmatic outlook characterize the people and are apparent in both their formal and informal organization. The central value structure, although erected on the base of colonial subsistence agriculture, has endured through the many changes in the area's economy. Today agriculture in Litchfield County is largely commercial dairy farming. The population is no longer homogeneous, but segmented. Yankees and foreign-born live side by side; not more than one-fourth of the rural residents are engaged in agriculture; and summer residents, retired people, and commuters from New York City are found in growing numbers. Despite these changes, the social organization has remained relatively constant because of the permissive nature of Yankee values. Town-meeting government and all that it implies epitomizes the kind of rural social organization that is to be found in Litchfield County.

Rural Church

[14] *The Church and the Rural Community* summarizes the reports of eight study committees which brought in material for the guidance of discussions at the National Methodist Rural Life Conference held in Lincoln, Nebraska in 1947. These groups also made studies and recommendations

**To be reviewed in the March issue.

which were issued as reports after the adjournment of the Conference. Five of these reports were listed in the September issue of *Rural Sociology* and two others are noted below. The author, chairman of the Conference, presents the material under the following headings: (1) Family and Community Life, (2) The Rural Church and the Land, (3) The Ministry and the Rural Church, (4) The Program of the Rural Church, (5) Church Cooperation, and (6) The Christian World View. Maps, graphs, and tables supplement the text.

[33] *Research and Survey in the Town and Country Churches of Methodism* explains the use of scientific techniques in the study of church problems. The author says that "The aim of research in the church is to discuss the underlying patterns of community development and of population, so that prediction of the future course of events will be possible and that church leaders may more adequately meet the spiritual needs of the church and community". Suggestions are given for collecting information, reporting the data, and forming an action group to take the initiative in promoting work within the church.

[5] Another report of the National Methodist Rural Life Conference outlines *A Program for the Local Rural Church*. It includes suggestions which may be used by pastor and people to help the church function more effectively. In planning any action, the local church should set specific objectives, decide upon methods to be used, and estimate the resources and leadership available.

[32, 31] The Second Southern Rural Life Conference has issued reports on the church and school and their relation to rural community living in the South. The report on the rural church presents (1) the need for a philosophy of rural life, (2) the responsibility of the rural church in a world of secular materialism, (3) the function of the church, (4) what the church is doing to improve the quality of living through better-

ment of economic conditions, health, leadership training, and recreation, (5) barriers experienced by church leadership from within and without the church, (6) contributions made by church leadership toward improving community living, and (7) outstanding illustrations of community cooperation.

The report on the rural school describes activities of schools which are improving the conditions in various communities. It stresses the importance of the development of techniques for the planning and initiation of school-community programs. The authors outline the contributions which leadership at the national, regional, state, and local levels may make to improve the quality of living in southern communities.

Rural Health

[7] A ten-year program to raise the level of *The Nation's Health* includes plans to be carried out in local communities with the help of state and federal governments. The findings of the National Health Assembly held at Washington, D. C. in May, 1948, form the basis for many of the recommendations. Detailed reports of the Assembly will be published later. The author discusses the following health goals which we should strive to reach by 1960: (1) Enough manpower everywhere—to satisfy the health and medical needs of all people; (2) Enough hospitals everywhere—supplemented by auxiliary health centers to reach remote regions; (3) An equal chance for health—access to adequate medical care, regardless of economic status; (4) Mental health—promotion of both preventive and curative work by expanding research, manpower, and facilities; (5) Healthy maturity—by controlling chronic diseases and relieving other problems of adult life; (6) Rehabilitation for handicapped—restoring those disabled through illness or injury to the most nearly normal life of which they are capable; (7) A good start in life—complete medical care and social, psychological, and health services for all children and mothers in childbirth; (8) Community action—to provide the best possible health conditions and to supply needed services by

organizing local agencies of health with effective teamwork for the welfare of the entire community.

The author concludes that "If the people will get together—professional workers and public representatives alike—in citizen health councils throughout the country, we will have the satisfaction of proving not only that health is everybody's business, but that it is good business, essential business and successful business".

[10] "*Doctors and Horses*" is a pamphlet outlining the health needs of farm communities and how they may be met. The importance of an increasing supply of doctors, nurses, hospital facilities, and health measures in rural areas is discussed. The formation of a health council is suggested as the first step to be taken by any community towards providing adequate medical care.

The Illinois Agricultural Association and the Illinois State Medical Society have established a joint Student Loan Fund Board to encourage country boys to study medicine with the intention of returning to rural areas to practice. "The primary condition of the Illinois program is that, after finishing your medical course and internship, you will agree to practice general medicine in a town of less than 5,000 in your home county at least until you shall have repaid the loan plus two percent (2%) interest. If you do not complete the medical course or do not take up practice in a rural community as agreed, you must repay the amount loaned immediately at the rate of seven percent (7%) interest". The pamphlet contains information regarding the loans and a copy of the agreement to be signed by recipients.

[12] An intensive study has been made of *Medical and Hospital Services Provided under Prepayment Arrangements* at Trinity Hospital, Little Rock Arkansas, 1941-42. Data were obtained on the volume of service provided over 24 consecutive months. The report includes information on "the demand for preventive services, the degree

to which consultations are held with physicians early in illness, the extent to which laboratory and X-ray facilities are utilized, and the amount of services provided for certain diagnostic groups". An explanation of the meanings of the terms used and the contracts under which care was provided accompanies a series of 113 tables.

Tenure Status

[34] Between 1880 and 1940 the number of owners per 1,000 males 20 years of age and older gainfully employed on farms declined from 547 to 414. During the same period the corresponding number of tenants increased from 187 to 273 and the number of farm laborers increased from 266 to 313. Loss in ownership status was fairly consistent over the entire period and was to be found in each major geographic region. Increases in the proportion of tenant and farm laborers in the agricultural labor force varied from region to region. In the analysis of the reasons for these shifts emphasis is placed on the secular trend from relatively self-sufficient to highly mechanized commercial farming. Since 1940, the proportion of owners and part-owners in the agricultural labor force has increased. The authors point out that this recent development was not created by the rapid rise of low status workers on the agricultural ladder but rather was the result of the withdrawal of tenants from agriculture and the purchase of farms by persons heretofore not members of the agricultural labor force.

[36] *The Farm Tenure Situation in the Southeast* is the first publication of the Southeast Regional Land Tenure Committee. The report contains a description of the tenure situation in the seven southeastern states as revealed in the 1945 Census of Agriculture. The number of farms, acres in farms, cropland harvested, the value of land and buildings and the size of farms are broken down by the tenure status of the operators, the types of tenancy, and the color of operators. Census items dealing with farm labor and mechanization are also summarized.

Population

[17] A substantial drop in the farm population of Texas has occurred in recent years. A relatively high natural increase in 1947 was more than offset by migration from farms. Included in the replies to mail questionnaires were several comments on the exodus of people from the farming areas of the State. The lack of city conveniences was mentioned most frequently among the reasons for the depopulation of rural areas. The unsatisfactory condition of rural roads was stressed. Other reasons were poor housing, the high cost of labor, and soil erosion.

Miscellaneous

[38] A revised edition of *Suggestions to Prospective Farmers and Sources of Information* has been issued. It contains specific information about farming possibilities, experience, physical and economic factors in farming, operating problems, locating farms for sale or rent, sources of credit and other financial and technical aid. Addresses of State Agricultural Colleges, State Directors of Extension Service, and Directors of State Agricultural Experiment Stations are included.

[11] *Changes in Farming* is "a revision of the summary of a study that was begun in the fall of 1944 with the purpose of analyzing

the changes in farming during the interim and war years, appraising the forces back of the large increases in production and evaluating some of their peacetime implications". That summary, *Changes in Farming in War and Peace*, was issued in June, 1946. This revision includes production experience in the years 1946 and 1947 along with information regarding trends in size of farm and ownership. The author points out that constant change can be expected in the field of mechanization and that agriculture must adapt itself to them. The text is supplemented with ten tables and 39 figures.

[8] The growth of the Agricultural Extension Service in size and importance suggests that consideration be given to the housing facilities of the program in many Kansas counties. Although some counties have substantial investments in the accommodations for agricultural fairs, inadequate facilities are available for extension work, an activity that is carried on throughout the year. In Rice County an agricultural center has been built to meet this need. The bulletin describes the steps that were taken to secure the building with special attention being paid to the enlistment of public support, the use that has been made of the center, some of its present imperfections, and its importance to the agricultural extension program in other Kansas counties.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Otis Durant Duncan

Agricultural Price Policy. By Geoffrey S. Shepherd. Ames: The Iowa State College Press, 1947. Pp. vi + 440. \$4.50.

Forward Prices for Agriculture. By D. Gale Johnson. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947. Pp. xiii + 259. \$3.00.

Rural sociologists no longer need fear lest agricultural economists neglect economic factors in the lives of farm families. They won't. And neither should we. Never before in our history has the economic climate under which the farm population lives loomed so important in their actions and in their thinking. And never before has the farmer's welfare been so dependent upon conditions beyond his immediate control. It is a complex problem that confronts American agriculture today, and sociologists must delve into its complexities if they expect to make a contribution to the ultimate solution.

Geoffrey Shepherd's book, *Agricultural Price Policy*, provides a step by step analysis of the need for price control, the history and the current status of price regulation and finally a five-point program for future control. Open market prices do not properly regulate agricultural production and consumption because (1) supply also fluctuates with the weather, (2) demand is also a function of changing economic, political, and military conditions, (3) there is an inherent lag in production response ranging from a few weeks to several years, and finally (4) because over the long run both agricultural prices and incomes are relatively low.

The demand for price control resulted in a number of federal programs including price floors during World War I, the stabilization operations of the Federal Farm Board and later of the Commodity Credit Corporation, agricultural marketing agreements designed to control market supplies, consumption subsidies in the form of the distribution of surplus commodities directly or by means of food stamps and school

lunches, and parity prices. According to Shepherd, each of these programs has taught us a lesson but none of them has adequately corrected the situation. He advocates five different programs all running concurrently. They are (1) a more accurate forecast of supply, demand, and prices, or, lacking this, the establishment of forward prices, (2) stabilization of the year-to-year variations in the total production of each crop, (3) stabilization of each farmer's crop production through insurance, (4) stabilization of the demand for farm products, perhaps through direct income payments, and finally (5) the maintenance of comparable farm incomes for equal ability by expanding the existing educational and placement services.

Forward prices involve the estimation of anticipated prices for at least one production period in advance and an unqualified offer by the Government assuring farmers that these anticipated prices, or a large fraction of them, will be realized. They are far removed from parity prices which are based on previous returns and use prices as goals or ends to be attained. Forward prices consider future conditions and are means to the desired allocation of resources.

Johnson lists six basic goals, two of which relate to resources and four to incomes. A nation should maximize the total return from its resources and at the same time make provision for economic growth and progress. The four income goals are: (1) a minimum level of living, based on social welfare criteria, should be provided for all; (2) gross inequalities in income distribution should be relieved; (3) per capita income should be the same for comparable groups in society, and (4) the distribution of income should be reasonably stable.

Forward prices make their chief contribution in the regulation of resource allocation by reducing price uncertainty. They or any other price policy do not contribute

materially to the income goals. High farm prices are not a guarantee of adequate farm incomes, particularly for the large segment of the farm population that has relatively little commercial production.

The technical, administrative, and political complications raised by a program of forward prices are discussed and not discounted. Both Johnson and Shepherd present the issues carefully, modestly, and well.

WALTER C. MCKAIN.

The University of Connecticut.

Agricultural Finance. Revised Edition. By William G. Murray. Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1947. Pp. x + 372. \$4.00.

The 1947 edition is a revision of the 1941 book bearing the same title. The difference between the two editions is limited chiefly to the inclusion of new legislation and recent statistics on farm finance, together with an evaluation of farm credit changes during the past six years. The more important farm credit legislation since 1941 provides for the Farmer's Home Administration and an act in 1945 permitting Federal Land Banks to lend 65 per cent of normal value of the farm instead of the former limitation of 50 per cent of the appraised value of the land and 20 per cent of the value of insurable buildings.

The subject matter has to do with the principles underlying the proper use of various types of capital needed in farming, including an analysis of terms for payment of debts best suited to the business of agriculture and the costs of credit from various sources. The essential facts with respect to the various sources of credit for farming are given. Interest rates, lending limits and the conditions under which credit may be attained are analyzed. The problem involved in successfully becoming a farm owner-operator through the use of credit is the subject of Chapter IX.

The book has the special merit of being well indexed and of including the essential facts of agricultural finance without a burdensome detailed description. This makes the publication valuable as a source of

specific information on credit for farmers, professional workers and as a textbook for courses in agricultural finance. While it has the merit of leaving detailed description to the instructor, supplementary sources of information and exercises are suggested.

BUEFORD M. GILE.

The University of Louisiana.

All Manner of Men. By Malcolm Ross. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1948. Pp. 314. \$3.50.

This volume is significant because it proposes to reveal the real story of the Fair Employment Practice Committee; its author was chairman of that committee during the last three years of the late war. He derives the substance of the book from personal experiences as well as from records and other sources. Written in popular, often reportorial style, it comprises 21 vivid highly descriptive chapters.

The first chapter treats of instances and incidents involving racial discrimination and friction during the 18th and 19th centuries. Throughout the book, there are references and illustrations of a historical nature emphasizing the deep-seated roots of racial prejudice which retarded the efforts of F.E.P.C. to overcome economic discrimination. The author contends that the historical explanations for excluding the Mexican-American, the Negro, the Nisei, and the Jew from participation in American life are wearing thin; that the old tension between North and South over Negro status weakens national unity and degrades the United States in international affairs.

Ross declares that the Committee was a wartime makeshift, never armed with authority to do a proper job. It possessed no subpoena powers and it lacked the prestige which a sincere non-discrimination policy by Congress would have given its representatives and workers. In spite of this, the F.E.P.C. was remarkably effective in its attempts to alleviate unfair employment practices and to improve race relations.

Several chapter titles in this book are flippant; such, for example, as "Congress

Backs the Wrong Horse," and "Inside the Rathole". In general, however, the analyses are keen and penetrating, especially the chapter on "Politics," which is a discussion of the political implications of the F.E.P.C. Here also is a rather thorough analysis of the attitudes of some southern liberals who opposed the Committee in Congress.

In a few spots the text would seem jerky but for its informal, lucid style. The author was evidently confused in his reference to William Lloyd Garrison's periodical as "The Vindicator." According to this reviewer's information, Garrison's pamphlet was known as "The Liberator." All in all, the book is useful, illuminating, and timely. It can be recommended for both students and the general public.

THELMA ACKISS PERRY.

Langston University.

Kroeber, A. L. *Anthropology, Race, Language, Culture, Psychology, Prehistory*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948. \$5.50. Pp. xxxix + 856.

In recommending this revised edition of A. L. Kroeber's *Anthropology*, the publishers stress the fact that the index of the work alone runs to 39 pages with 2898 entries. The body of the book, originally published in 1923, has grown from 502 pages to 856. The length of the work, which is not necessarily an advantage where it is to be used as a text book, is due to the inclusion of physical anthropology, archeology, and social anthropology in the same volume. These three fields have grown far apart in their development, and their treatment in one single course or book is traditional rather than necessary. The lay or expert reader who is primarily interested in social anthropology might be satisfied with a discussion of the relation or rather the lack of a relation of race and culture and be willing to dispense with the evolutionary history of the human animal. He might also be willing to forego the discussions of the prehistoric development of technological implements which shed only very little and very conjectural light on the social life of early man. Professor Kroeber is un-

willing to separate these fields because his approach is basically historical. While many contemporary social anthropologists tend to stress the study of relationships within a given culture at a given time, his interest is to a great extent directed upon the reconstruction of prehistory and the establishment of laws of long range cultural change. It is thus as a study of history that the work merits the greatest interest.

It is unfortunate that this broad vision, presented in a very readable and aesthetically pleasing style, is marred by the renewed use of the concept of the "super-organic". To speak of things other than biological organisms and certain related chemical substances as organic cannot be anything but an analogy. To speak of something as *superorganic* is like saying that it is just like the organic, only more so. It is to be hoped that such terms which confuse the epistemologically untrained student and do not add anything to the understanding among experts will some day soon disappear from the vocabulary of social science publications. Social and cultural phenomena have a reality of their own and can be described in terms of this reality without reference to biological, physical, or any other analogies.

Once mystical concepts like the "super-organic" are admitted, the door is open for all kinds of "superpersonal" and "super-individual" phenomena. Professor Kroeber looks at individuals and their individual actions merely as the substratum of the phenomena the anthropologist deals with. The phenomena themselves are beyond and above rather than between and among the individuals concerned. Consequently, the recent movement to apply modern methods of individualistic psychology to the understanding of cultures is summarily rejected, its findings disregarded.

The changes and additions that distinguish the new edition from the earlier ones are too many to be enumerated in this review. The work can well be considered as almost completely new. The six pages which indicate these changes and additions also contain all source reference to be found in

the book. They are few and vague. Though the reader may have the highest respect for the author's veracity and scientific integrity, he may well wish to learn more about this or that aspect of a matter touched in the book, particularly in cases which admit of differences in opinion, even if they have been decided with a tone of finality by the author.

FRANZ ADLER.

University of Arkansas.

Boletín del Instituto Psicopedagógico Nacional, Año VI, No. 2, 1947. Lima, Peru. Pp. 172.

This publication contains three anthropometric studies made by the Department of Anthropology of the National Psychopedagogical Institute. The first article is by Julio C. Pretto, head of the Department; the second is by his first assistant, María Gómez Calderón; the third is by these two in collaboration with eleven of their students. Anthropology in these labors has its common European meaning which corresponds to physical anthropology in the usage of the United States.

The students measured, numbered more than 23,000, about half from Lima and half from the provinces. The age range was from six to seventeen. All of the subjects were white-Indian mixed bloods, manifesting varying and undetermined proportions of the two races.

The announced purposes of the investigations were to gather data on physical growth and on nutritional conditions as reflected in bodily measurements. The results serve neither of these purposes very adequately, especially the latter. The racially mixed population introduces a complex genetic variable which seems not to have been taken into account. The chief utility of the studies is that they provide a long series of carefully done measurements. The increase in lung capacity with elevation, a fact brought out by other studies in the Andean region, shows up clearly in the figures.

ASAEL T. HANSEN.

Michigan State College.

Communications in Modern Society. By Wilbur Schramm (Ed.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1948. Pp. vi + 252. \$4.00.

The contributions to this symposium wrote, to use Paul Lazarsfeld's phrase, as "godfathers for a new communications center". Remarks are pitched with all due respect for this institutional role. While included materials may be suggestive for rural sociologists interested in problems of modern ecological location, vicinage, or communications design, effect, and control, they do reveal the certain truth of Edgar Dale's observation: "We are in the same dilemma here as we are in the material field of goods and services. We produce faster and better than we can distribute."

The papers fall quite clearly into four classes: mere observations, hortative accounts tuned principally by the releases of the Commission on Freedom of the Press and similar recent critiques, historical notes, and direct or implicit research suggestions. A bibliography of 100 titles is appended. Two broadly focused papers deserve specific mention: Elmo C. Roper's discussion of leads in radio audience research and Lazarsfeld's consideration of the role of criticism in management of mass communications. Pertinent research suggestions seem to italicize two points. First, there is need for much analysis of the dimensions of test opinions and for the testing of relative appeals with given populations for given sources, types of information, and media and modes of presentation (Carl Hovland, R. O. Nafzinger). Second, there is need for further systematic empirical orientation of the social situation in which communication operates (John E. Ivey, Jr., Clyde Hart). Hart, following a suggestion by Herbert Blumer, points to what may be the crucial question in use of opinion scaling—indeed, in the use of any questionnaire or schedule procedure. The question attacks the assumption that a series of cases, however distributed, drawn from a *mass*, may reflect power in social action or control. The latter, which is directly dependent on patterns in social

organization—not number, cannot be ignored or grossly assumed.

PAUL B. FOREMAN.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Direct Thinking. By George Humphrey. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1948. Pp. 229. \$3.50.

The aim of this book is to set forth the essential knowledge which has been gained in recent years from the scientific study of the thinking processes and to indicate how this knowledge can be applied by the individual in the organization and systematization of his thinking. In the reviewer's opinion the author does an unusually good job of summarizing existing knowledge about the thought processes, especially on such questions as why we think, the stages, unity and guidance of thought, the role of imagination and insight in thinking and the relation between thought and action. However, he fails to make clear just how the reader can apply what he has learned to aid him in reflective thinking. Nevertheless the educated and intelligent layman to whom the book is directed should be able to examine his thought processes in light of the scientific findings so clearly presented and make his own diagnosis and prescription.

WILLIAM H. SEWELL.

University of Wisconsin.

Empire's Children: The People of Tzintzuntzan. By George M. Foster. (Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 6) Washington: Printed in Mexico for Smithsonian Institution, 1948. Pp. 297. Free.

Cultural Geography of the Modern Tarascan Area. By Robert C. West. (Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 7.) Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948, Pp. 77. \$0.75.

These are two of a series of monographs that report the joint field studies of the Institute of Social Anthropology and the Escuela Nacional de Antropología of Mexi-

co. The studies were conducted in 1945-46 in the Tarascan area of the state of Michoacán.

The title, "Empire's Children," immediately raises the question, "What empire?" One soon learns the Tzintzuntzan was the capital of the Tarascan Empire at the time of the Spanish conquest. So the question seems to be answered. Yet, the book brings out clearly that, unlike many neighboring communities which are still inhabited by Tarascan Indians, the people of Tzintzuntzan are predominately *mestizos*, i.e., de-Indianized mixed bloods. Perhaps the title should be "Empires' Children."

The author and his Mexican assistant, Gabriel Ospina, obviously achieved excellent rapport with the people. The data gained from observing, participating, and interviewing are correspondingly rich and revealing. These usual ethnological procedures were supplemented by a quite elaborate census of the whole community and by sample studies of family budgets, of foods consumed, and of work patterns. Hence, quantitative statements can be made on many points. All the materials are woven into a readable and full description of almost everything that Tzintzuntzan is and does.

The town has a population of 1,231. The main occupation is pottery making with agriculture in an important secondary place. It is hard to select any section of the book for special comment. Economics receives very complete treatment and the analysis of the economics of agriculture is particularly interesting.

Few criticisms can be offered. The author could have been more explicit in defining what a Tarascan is. Males are the base for expressing sex ratios at one point (pp. 29-30); females at another (p. 228). One map reverses convention by having south at the top for no apparent reason (p. 133). Marriage by elopement, the usual method, is adequately described. But not much is given by way of explanation except to cite the antiquity of the custom in the region. It would seem to be a proper task of social anthropology to attempt to devise means of

analysing family systems to account for a situation in which family system persists only by regularly being subjected to traumas.

The other book should be read first by a person with a special interest in the Tarascan area. By itself, however, it communicates less than does *Empire's Children*. The discussions of different phases of culture are necessarily brief and one has to examine the maps frequently for the text to be meaningful. But as a background survey, it is competently done. It goes beyond what the title suggests in that much historical material is presented, a large part of which was gathered from primary sources.

ASAEI T. HANSEN.

Michigan State College.

Family Farm Policy. Edited by Joseph Ackerman and Marshall Harris. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947. Pp. xxii + 518. \$4.00.

Basically a report of the Farm Tenure Conference held at the University of Chicago in February, 1946, this book represents much more work and time than is usually devoted to a single conference. The central theme of the Conference was the Family Farm in the United States Land Policy. In addition, considerable time was given to reports on tenure conditions in eleven other countries. The first part contains an interpretive summary, a description of the farm tenure system in the United States and a report of the panel discussion on "The Place of the Family Farm in United States Land Policy." Parts II to VI are made up of Chapters VI to XIV on the Farm Land Tenure in various parts of the world. Part VI is made up of the reports of the five committees and Part VII is coterminous with Chapter XX on "Looking to the Future" written by Dr. Henry C. Taylor.

The papers on land tenure in Canada, Britain, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Brazil, Puerto Rico, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany and France are varied in content and emphasis. Only the reports on Germany and Sweden

include maps. These reports give considerable space to the social, economic and political background in which tenure changes have taken place.

The statements broaden and bring up-to-date the brief descriptions given in the *Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy* (1937). "The Farm Tenure System in the United States" as developed in Chapter II is the best statement of the tenure situation and of governmental policy on farm land tenure seen by the reviewer.

The treatment of the family farm is particularly important. Substantially, it is defined as one with (1) the entrepreneurial functions vested in the family, (2) operations carried on by family labor, aided, if necessary, by outside labor in emergencies, and (3) an operating investment large enough to employ efficiently the labor of the farm family. The importance of the family farm is stressed throughout, yet "the family farm is not an end in agricultural policy. Rather it is an instrument, a means, through which agriculture and rural life can be made a richer and more satisfying experience for those who farm." (p. 9.)

The reports, and the entire book, are remarkably up-to-date with many quotations from post-war planning committees reports. This book is a must for students of tenure and policy making. It is recommended to those conducting conferences and reporting on the work of conferences. It provides some insight into the political and social structure of selected foreign countries.

RALPH J. RAMSEY.

University of Kentucky.

Family Life in West China. By Irma Highbaugh. New York: Agricultural Missions, Inc., 1948. Pp. vii + 240. \$2.00.

This is a study of three aspects of family relationships in two communities in Szechuan Province in West China. It was conducted over a three-year period from 1941 to 1944, while the constructive forces in China were operating with Szechuan as the war-time center of China. The hypothesis of the study is that permanent rural recon-

struction can best be achieved through the reconstruction of family relationships, particularly in China where the family holds such a position of esteem. Accordingly the author selected to study three phases of family relations; those between the preschool child and his parents; those between the parents as husband and wife; and those between the older and younger generations of adults. These relationships were considered to affect the young child most directly. The major relationships were subdivided into 54 minor relations, 26 for the young child and his adults, 15 for his parents as husband and wife and 13 for the younger and older adults in his family.

Rural sociologists will be most interested in the research procedure. The researcher designed a check list of the relationships with a value scale from zero to four and the investigators checked the list on frequent occasions according to the behavior observed in the family. From these checkings plus a series of case studies, the results were developed. In order to have frequent and intimate opportunities for meeting the approximately 60 families studied, a service program was developed. This included children's school training, adult literacy work, nursery school and parent education program, and Christian nurture. This service program, conducted over the three-year period, brought about many changes in these families. But its most important use was to make available an opportunity to see family relationships operate at first hand.

The results of the study are presented in two case descriptions and summarized in a chapter entitled "Changes in family relationships." With a long experience of over 20 years in China, and with the help of a number of cooperators, the author completed a work that yields considerable fruit and should be suggestive to others who wish to study family relationships through the service program technique.

W. A. ANDERSON.

Cornell University.

The Farmer In The Second World War. By Walter W. Wilcox. Ames: The Iowa State College Press, 1947. Pp. xii + 410. \$4.00.

If Army-Navy E Awards had been given to American farmers under the same condition as to industry, there would now be millions of flags flying over American farms. This is one part of the factually told story in this book.

The farmers of America increased their production in the second World War by one-half, as compared with the first World War. This was accomplished with only a very small increase in acreage over prewar levels and with considerably fewer farm workers. The triple factors of favorable weather conditions, increased mechanization, and improved varieties and strains of seeds made it possible for the farmer to set all-time production records. Fortunately, however, there was no repetition of the destruction of soil resources as was true in the first World War.

The second major story outlined by the author in this book is that of an analysis of the governmental policies in arriving at production goals, the distribution of the production to the armed forces, to our allies, and to our civilian population. This story can perhaps be summed up in the following sentence: "For the most part, price policies achieved their objectives." (p. 3) There were serious mistakes made in the determination of policy. These errors were made as a result of (1) lack of accumulated experience in adjusting to wartime demands, and (2) continual compromise which was made "necessary" by pressure groups even in wartime.

Many other results of the war are touched upon but not fully developed. For example, it is pointed out that the rural schools of the nation deteriorated and that many communities were left in a precarious condition because of inadequate medical care personnel. On the other side of the ledger, the author contends that the family size farms improved their competitive position during the war.

SELZ C. MAYO.

North Carolina State College.

The Farmer's Handbook. By John M. White. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1948. Pp. xiv + 440. \$4.95.

During more than fifty years of practical experience as a farmer and county agent, I have often felt the need for a ready reference on everyday farm problems. As a consequence, it was only natural that, beginning twenty years ago, I should have undertaken to collect material for this book. (Author's preface, p. vii.)

There are 21 chapters replete with practical information ranging from field crops of all kinds, pastures, livestock care and management, soil and wildlife conservation, to tables of weights and measures. The author says that only the major phases of farming are covered, and advises those interested in particular fields to consult original sources. That is undue modesty, if one desires only general information in non-technical language. It would be hard to imagine anything on a farm, whether it is how to break a cow from sucking herself, first aid for apoplexy, or periods of heat in various farm animals which is not catalogued. Child birth and setting broken bones are about the only common events on the farm for which there is no suggested remedy.

This book is immensely interesting to rural sociologists, although only incidentally. Rural sociologists need more knowledge about applied agriculture. The appeal is directly to farmers, but, in serving an educational function to farmers, the book has a distinct sociological import. It is, therefore, highly recommended.

"Uncle John," as the author is affectionately known among extension workers in the Southwest, has brought his long period of service in agriculture to a fitting climax by bequeathing to posterity the whole of an education gained "the hard way."

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Francis Lieber: Nineteenth-Century Liberal. By Frank Freidel. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1947. Pp. xiii + 445. \$4.50.

Encyclopedist, teacher, political theorist, publicist, reformer, dabbler in philology, nationalist, patriot, friend and adviser to the great and near great, ambitious seeker after recognition and fame, Francis Lieber (1798-1872) was a man of many interests and accomplishments whom Dr. Freidel has portrayed in a solid book which is likely to stand as a definitive biography.

Lieber came to the United States in 1827, and the next year the first volume of his *Encyclopaedia Americana* came off the press. He taught at South Carolina College and at Columbia College. His best known works of a more scholarly type are: *Manual of Political Ethics*, and *On Civil Liberty and Self-Government*.

Lieber was not an original thinker, and this biography indicates that he should be viewed more as a publicist than as a scholar. Just to mention the bewildering array of subjects which his fertile mind turned to at one time or another would exceed the length of this review. He touched upon prison reform, international law, defense of nationalist doctrines for the Radical Republicans, and almost everything else that engaged public attention through his long life. Through his ability to make friends with the most prominent people and persuade them to further his proposals he probably had much greater influence than later generations have realized. Because of the scope of Lieber's activities most social scientists will find in this book something of interest.

Dr. Freidel has written no hero's tale, but has given a careful delineation of the life and influence of one of our great publicists. One might wish that he had added a bibliography of Lieber's writings, even though these are cited in footnotes.

O. A. HILTON.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

The Growth of Physical Science. By Sir James Jeans. New York: Macmillan, 1948. Pp. x + 364. \$4.00.

"We look on helpless while our material civilization carries us at breakneck speed to and end which no man can foresee or even

conjecture." With these words this leading British astronomer and mathematical physicist (died 1946) begins and, in the same spirit, ends his swift moving and pointed history of physical science from Babylonian beginnings to the present atomic age. The book is breath-taking. It tells how man has in a few centuries probed into many of the mysteries of the universe. Now we know much that happens at absolute zero as well as at twenty million degrees of temperature, as well as in the electron and in objects as far away as five hundred million light years.

The social scientist will be interested in the book for three reasons. It portrays the development of physical science in our culture. It illustrates processes of creative thought and patience which, if used, should lead to work in the social field. Finally, it gives similar insight largely incidentally, to the conceptions of social science principles which have crystallized in the minds of many prestige leaders in the physical sciences.

In the mind of the reviewer, this last point deserves extended comment. Since the atom bomb a plethora of suggestions has appeared in *Science* and other organs mainly dominated by physical scientists suggesting that many of them turn also to social science and furnish a new leadership. And we have as a cardinal illustration, the Kinsey Report, which in addition to many dubious taxonomic conclusions, is riddled with a "new" social science, that based upon a conception of uninhibited "mammalian" behavior.

In Jeans' work two inadvertent conclusions of immediate import to social science deserve, from the reviewer's point of view, fundamental discussion. One is the antagonism to religious institutions for restraints upon scientific thinking or for opposing the dissemination of new ideas concerning the universe. A major second is the implied denial of the influence of historical processes upon current behavior. There are many other ideas, but there two cardinal points suffice for discussion here.

The main outcroppings of the antagonism to religious—and hence social—institutions for their skittishness about new ideas in the physical sciences begins when Plato and Aristotle come up in the discussion of Greek scientific thinking. These men made "natural laws subordinate to the authority of divine principles" and, in the general opinion of Jeans' "held back" scientific development. Later (p. 71) we find the Christians upbraided because, following the paths of the Roman Emperors, contributed "real danger" in that they "knew nothing of tolerance" and brought about the "wilt" of science. All through this work only one religion or dominant social doctrine is credited with being "pro" physical science—Mohammedanism in its first few centuries before it reached its maturity as a social power.

With the bare facts as reported by Jeans' there can be no quarrel. The interpretation given the facts is what goes. The Greece of Plato and Aristotle was like a drowning man. How could they discuss science in the midst of ruin and disaster? The social conditions of the Roman world during its empire days varied but certainly no one "impeded" any real scientific thinking until ruin and disaster faced the world again. Why should Christian leaders be receptive to new scientific interpretations when, in the words of Salvian, (c. A.D. 440) only the rudest barbarians were sufficiently civilized as to be kind to their own children. The later antagonism of the church to science is a very different story. No social institution seems to bear great power gracefully for any length of time. No credit is given the church for creating conditions making scientific thinking possible.

The main attack upon the influence of historical processes comes later (p. 312) after a discussion of exponential decay of radioactivity. Here different rates of decay are given ranging from uranium losing half its power in 4500 million years to thorium C' which falls to half strength "in perhaps a hundred millionth part of a second." A few lines later it is noted that "in the events now under consideration, the past

had apparently no influence upon the present nor the present on the future." This statement, though delimited as it is, represents in the minds of many, as we see about us in the newer leadership of the social sciences, a denial of the influence of social systems and of historical-social processes by twentieth century society.

This is, to the reviewer at least, illogical logic. If uranium has lost its radioactivity until it becomes lead, it is now lead, and the past must affect its present. It must be used to make pewter instead of an atom bomb. If on the other hand, some new uranium is present which will equally become lead in the same length of time necessary to make the first lead, then we have uranium-lead "history" repeating itself.

Taking issue with these points of view in this "new testament" of the physical sciences does not blemish the values of physical science or Jeans' interpretation of their discoveries. It merely attempts to set before the social scientist one of his fundamental problems—that of the understanding of the minds of the physical scientist who now has so much prestige in our society and of interpreting social science principles so that physical scientists can understand them. And this process is more difficult than it seems on the surface. For instance, Jeans' authority on the decay of the Roman culture is Gibbons, whose work blaming the Christians for the decline and fall of the Empire was published before the American Revolution. A great deal of re-educating might be needed before physical and social scientists can get together and agree on a common set of principles. Who was it said—Science can save us? It can!

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN.

Harvard University.

History of Oklahoma. By Edward Everett Dale and Morris L. Wardell. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948. Pp. x + 572. \$7.65.

This work has three parts—pre-history until American dominion, Chs. I-IV; Oklahoma as an Indian refuge, Chs. V-XIV; and Oklahoma as a state, XV-XXIII. The first

part goes back into European politics, Spanish and French explorations, and gives an unusually good background for local history. It is a preface to local history as history should be written. The second part is most informative to the outsider in that it deals in detail with the culture of the five civilized tribes, most prominent of which were the Cherokees, and the story of their removal to Oklahoma. Their experiences in the Civil War, some being Northern in sympathy, and others Southern, brought them into full membership in the white dominated American nation. The third history, the story of Oklahoma since 1906, is trite and of little value. For instance, the *Grapes of Wrath* thesis never arises, either for notation, explanation or refutation. It notes that the Cherokees are the most astute group in the state, although no serious attempt is made to explain this singular phenomenon. Lake Texoma, above the Denison dam, is summarized as "an ideal place for hunting, fishing, camping and boating". This third section evades the basic issues of Oklahoma and may be due to the political situation in the state, but even if so, it makes the reviewer wonder.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN.

Harvard University.

An Introduction to the History of Sociology.

By Harry Elmer Barnes, Editor. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948, Pp. xvi + 960. \$10.00.

It is bootless to quarrel over labels. By any title this volume would stand handy to the chair of professional sociologists, and each reader will be tempted sometimes to use it for a doorstep sole. In truth, "Biographical Essays in the History of Sociology" would be a more suitable title, for nearly all the volume consists of chapters devoted to individuals prominent in sociology, beginning with Comte. Unfortunately, discussions of the makers of sociology is not portrayal of the movement of sociology. No doubt the price of the volume will restrict its use among graduate students who could make the best use of it.

The brief historical introduction may refresh informed readers and warn novices that social thought did not begin with Comte. It would have been preferable, perhaps, to have used the same space for longer and therefore useful introductions and summaries of the several parts of the volume.

Part II covers "the pioneers": Comte, Spencer, Morgan, Sumner, Ward, Gumplovicz. Leslie White's discussion of Morgan is distinguished; Barnes wrote the other five chapters (and too many in the other sections of the volume).

Part III (Germanic countries) includes essays on Wundt, Tönnies, Simmel, von Wiese; the Webers, Sombart, Troeltsch, Oppenheimer, Freyer, Spann, Stein, and Ratzenhofer. Heberle's two chapters on Tönnies and Simmel win three stars.

Part IV covers other continental writers and includes the single chapter of this volume that the reviewer regards as brilliant: that on Durkheim by Bevoit-Smullyan. Other men discussed are: Novicow, Kovalevsky, Fouillee, Tarde, LeBon, DeGreef, Posada, and Pareto with other Italians.

Part V is devoted to English writers. Besides Barnes' beautiful commentary on Toynbee, the remaining chapters deal with Kidd, Hobhouse, Westermarck, Briffault, Geddes and Branford, Wallas.

The final section is dedicated to American sociologist: Giddings, Small, Thomas, Stuckenberg, Ross, Cooley, Ellwood, Hayes, Sorokin, and Cornejo. Outstanding among this group of reviews, we judge, is Speier's on Sorokin (though we should differ significantly on several points) and Dewey's on Cooley.

This kind of volume is always assayed for scope as well as for adequacy of treatment of the men covered. As to rejections, we should omit only the chapter on Stuckenburg. But why was Park omitted and Thomas included, when both were living. But the big question is: why no chapter on Marx?

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON.

University of Kentucky.

Life and Morals. By S. J. Holmes. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. Pp. x + 232. \$3.00.

Life and Morals by S. J. Holmes, Professor Emeritus of Zoology at the University of California, is a book in which "morals have been treated from a naturalistic viewpoint in the determination of which biological concepts have inevitably played an important part." (p. v.) The naturalistic viewpoint is a revolt against the supernaturalistic approach, for Prof. Holmes has seen the advancement of science as a result of the progressive freedom which science has achieved by discarding theological presuppositions and trappings. The "present chaos and confusion [in morality] will be cured," according to Holmes, "through the adoption of a scientifically grounded ethics". (p. vi)

Our hopes, however, are not fulfilled in *Life and Morals*. As a scientist Prof. Holmes fails to see the presuppositions of scientific method. It is causal in its analysis of moral phenomena; and, as would be expected, in its attempt to achieve universality, this method leads us *backwards* either *biologically* to the animals—wasps, bees, ants, fish, grasshoppers and apes—or *psychologically* to a consideration of such unit character traits as fear, anger, jealousy, shame, bashfulness, pride, etc. (pp. 203-206). These individual traits must nevertheless, be compounded into social traits; thus we find that altruism is traced backwards "from its foreshadowing in the reproductive activities of primitive animals." (p. 116).

The scientist as well as the theologian fails us. The one roots behavior in causally determined behavior; the other roots behavior in the supernatural system of ends, goals and values. Both use the individualistic approach; hence neither is able to cope with cultural problems—labor and capital, peace and war, the control of atomic power or a planned economy. These are the moral questions which confront us today. Upon answers to questions like these depend the future of civilization. A consideration of the merits and/or demerits of euthanasia may be of academic importance, but the

massacre of ten-million Jews is infinitely more important practically. Man in trying to solve the problems of his culture cannot turn to biology or to theology. His only hope lies in political methods, the guiding principles of which must be moral.

FORREST ORAN WIGGINS.

University of Minnesota.

Men Out of Asia. By Harold Sterling Gladwin. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1947. Pp. xv + 390. \$4.00.

This is a unique book in that it is a polemic in behalf of the Diffusionist versus the Psychic Unity School of anthropologists. It is written popularly, even with zest and verve. Its 140 semi-cartoons embellish its drive and the points it makes.

The average sociologist may be surprised that such sledge-hammer attacks are needed against the psychic unity school of thought because he accepts the diffusionist theory as the only feasible one. He will, however, delight in the exposé which the author presents of the vitalistic theory of the believer in psychic unity.

To one who accepts the diffusionist theory, or isn't concerned with it, or never even heard of it, this is a valuable and exceptionally readable book because of the immense amount of information it contains, not only about the origins of the Indian peoples of the Western Hemisphere but of their cultural accomplishment—from the Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego to the Mayas.

The book's basic scheme of analysis should suggest to the anthropologist that a knowledge of history and the contribution of the other social sciences are necessary to the understanding of modern society; that both as description and as a fruitful and valid analysis it is better to work back from observable and verifiable data to less known than it is to attempt to pick up from countless field studies the fragmented components of culture and piece them together as an explanation of modern societies.

CARL C. TAYLOR.

Division of Farm Population
and Rural Life.

An Outline of Social Psychology. By Muzafer Sherif. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948. Pp. xv + 479. \$4.00.

This is a systematic textbook in social psychology that carries an editorial introduction and blessing by Gardner Murphy and to whom the author freely acknowledges indebtedness. More specifically, it is a condensation and restatement into general textbook form of ideas and materials that have appeared in the author's earlier works: *A Study of Some Social Factors in Perception* (Archives of Psychology, 1935, No. 187); *The Psychology of Social Norms* (Harpers, 1936); and parts of *The Psychology of Ego-Involvements* (Wiley, 1947).

There are seventeen chapters arranged in four parts—Motives, Groups and Norms (Values), Individuals and Social Change, Individual Differences in Social Reactions—with eleven chapters devoted to the analysis of group norms in relation to attitudes and identifications. Materials include a skillful weaving together of laboratory reports, various "field" experiments on social or group behavior, and the rich literature of personal report on experience with war and crisis that has come out of the last hectic decade or two. There is an eight page subject index and a five page name index.

This appears to be an excellent general text that should be acceptable to either sociologists or psychologist unless they prefer "doctrinaire" interpretations. To the thoughtful reader it will serve to highlight again the important fact of the fundamental character that an adequate social psychology has to all the special fields in both psychology and sociology.

GEORGE B. VOLD.

University of Minnesota.

People and Process in Social Security. By Karl de Schweinitz. Washington: American Council on Education, 1948. Pp. xi + 165. \$2.00.

This little volume traces the history of assistance in western countries up to the passage of the Federal Social Security Act of 1935, and points out some incongruities in the interpretation of the Act resulting

from the vagueness of its terminology. The book stresses the individual and his needs as the chief source of information to determine eligibility for social insurance or public assistance. It outlines the type of personnel needed and what should be expected of that personnel at the maximum competence level, and emphasizes the need for specialization of personnel in various fields of responsibility for administration.

Part II deals with the education and training of personnel for Social Security administration, and outlines the needed study at the undergraduate, graduate, and professional levels, and in-service training. The understanding of human relationships is stressed throughout the book.

This book is simply, clearly, and concisely written, and would be an excellent reference for orientation in the field of social welfare administration. It is a good source for laymen interested in the "why's" and "how's" of the Social Security laws and their administration. Also, it is a good supplementary text or reference for college classes in various social sciences, particularly sociology and social work.

The author shows a deep understanding of human relationships plus a knowledge of the type of personnel and administrative policy needed in social welfare administration.

CORINNE H. SCOTT.

Oklahoma City Council of
Social Welfare.

The Rural Community And Its School. By Lorene K. Fox. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. 233. \$3.25.

This book is a survey and an analysis of rural society in Chautauqua County, New York, with recommendations for the reorganization of the public schools.

The greater part of the book is a careful study of rural society in Chautauqua County. This study includes a short history of the development and change of the rural society; a description of the types of farming enterprises found; the role of the farm in the community organization; the organization and operation of the rural schools;

the part played by the church in the life of the people; the political organization and county government; the attitudes of the rural people on current problems which confront them; and the various forms of culture conflict and the consequences of these conflicts. After an enlightening and interesting discussion of rural society in Chautauqua County, a closing chapter is devoted to a proposed program of reorganization of the rural schools.

In this book Miss Fox does not embark upon a theoretical discussion of what constitutes a community or who are the rural and the urban people. She apparently assumes that the readers will be sufficiently familiar with the meaning of these terms to understand about whom she is writing. She considers the description of the land and its people of sufficient importance to occupy most of her efforts. Miss Fox presents the reader with a vivid picture of rural people, their life and problems, in general, and of those of Chautauqua County in particular.

The importance of the school in rural life has been frequently stressed in professional publications by educators and by sociologists. In these articles agreement is often found that our rural schools are failing to meet the needs of the rural communities in which they are located to the full extent of their potentialities. However, the reviewer is unaware of any publication which has so forcefully and clearly pointed out the deficiencies of the rural schools and at the same time sets forth in detail suggestions for meeting the educational needs of the rural people as has Miss Fox's study of *The Rural Community and Its School*. Miss Fox shows that the rural schools of the study area, as a whole, do not strive to fit the rural children for life in their society. Rather, the school administrators are more interested in promoting the conventional pattern of education followed in the village, town, and city schools. The school program proposed by Miss Fox reaches into all sections of the county; touches the life of the adults as well as of the children; and through the functioning of the proposed

schools better farmers, better citizens and more well-adjusted persons may well result.

This book is a valuable contribution to the field of rural sociology and especially to the field of rural education. All educators could profit from reading this book.

MARION B. SMITH.

Louisiana State University.

Social Policies in the Making. By Paul Landis. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1947. Pp. xix + 554. \$4.00.

Problems of American Society: Values in Conflict. By John F. Cuber and Robert A. Harper. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1948. Pp. xviii + 394. \$3.00.

Landis' text is "designed to orient youth to the major social forces operating in modern society and show how they affect individual adjustment and social problems". His approach is mainly socio-cultural and he sees the principal forces which have caused maladjustments to be mobility, urbanization, rapidity of cultural change and complexity of culture, the emergence and prevalence of secondary group society, and the dominance of secularism. All these forces are "natural results of the industrial and agricultural revolutions". His "plea throughout is the national social replace outworn folkways and mores that still dominate many phases of behavior and administration where social science has offered a better guide". The book is divided into five parts: dynamic processes in American society, personal adjustments to a complex society, the family-social system of our transitional society, problems of the politico-economic system, and social policies in the making. When he writes about the latter he is weakest, but here are the weakest aspects of our society. Within the large framework depicted he discusses a number of social problems including crime, race, class interests, population, education, and others. The chapter on race is not too well organized or judicious in treatment. Too much space is given to the problems of the family. The book is lively and interesting, it will hold the attention of students. It is amply illustrated and contains excellent charts and tables.

Cuber and Harper's book is a sociology of social problems. Its theoretical theme is that "social problems arise out of the clashes between the values held by the various persons and groups in a society". Within this framework the social problems are analyzed. While this is a valuable approach, the conditions which give rise to such values although not neglected are not emphasized. The social problems analyzed include physical health, mental health, crime, social class, race, education, marriage and the family, and others. There is also a discussion of such significant topics as class struggle and American ideology and the "rational approach to our value heritage". This reviewer thought the analysis of mental health and mental illness the most outstanding in the book. The chapter on race does not include some essential facts necessary for a rounded treatment as for example, the distribution of Negroes. In the chapter on crime, white collar crime is neglected and juvenile delinquency is not given enough attention. Too many times, statistics are given without the dates for such statistics, the dates given being for the sources rather than the figures. Each chapter has, in most instances, a good listing of references which are particularly worthwhile since the significance of each reference is given comment. This is a creditable work which perhaps could best be used as a supplementary text in social problems.

A. STEPHEN STEPHAN.

University of Arkansas.

Sociology: A Comparative Outline. By Kewal Motwani. Bombay: New Book Company, Ltd., 1947. Rs. 5-12. Pp. xii + 196.

This is (1) a cursory survey of the conventional material of American "Sociologies". (2) an interpretation of this material in the thought patterns of the Indian, and (3) a plea for sociology in the Indian scheme of education and governmental services. The United States is cited as the main country in which sociology—the only science containing the version necessary for national integration and preservation—has

had a functional part in education and political life. Germany and Soviet Russia also have mastered [?] the technique of coordinating their internal strength because they have cultivated sociological education. Britain's backwardness in this respect has hindered that nation as well as India. Whether India lives or dies depends upon its ability to learn to plan scientifically so as to thwart the crushing forces from without and the disruptive influences within. Hence, there is a critical need for more sociological education in the modern sense to facilitate a new national birth in which the foremost problem will be to reconcile diverse religious, linguistic, economic, ethnic, and political factions. Unfortunately, the book may foster in India a belief that America has solved successfully a similar complex of problems, having given sociology a succulent growth.

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

This Man and this Woman. By Frederick W. Brink. New York: Association Press, 1948. Pp. 79. \$1.50.

The Hygiene of Marriage. New Rev. Ed. By Millard Spencer Everett. Cleveland and New York: World Publishing Co., 1948. Pp. xvii + 232. \$1.49.

The first of these two little volumes is designed for young people who are definitely contemplating marriage. It deals with fundamental supports for marriage, problems to be solved during the engagement period, the marital union, adjustments to be made in marriage, the successful home, and problems involved in marriages of Protestants and Catholics and of Jews and non-Jews. Ministers will find it a helpful device in counselling young people in their parishes. It will be useful also in young people's forums on marriage and the family.

The second volume is a popular priced reprint (originally published by The Vanguard Press, Inc., 1932) designed not only for those contemplating marriage but also for the married. While written by a professor of philosophy, it contains a foreword of

endorsement by a member of the medical profession. That a book written by a "layman" should be commended by the medical fraternity is little short of remarkable. Four major subjects comprise its contents: the anatomy, physiology, and hygiene of sex; venereal disease prevention; mental hygiene in relation to sex behavior; and child birth and birth control. The book is inexpensive, thereby bringing to even low income families a distinctly helpful source of information on marital problems.

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Toward Public Understanding of Casework.

By Viola Paradise. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1948. Pp. 242. \$2.00.

Administration of Group Work. By Louis H. Blumenthal. New York: Association Press, 1948. Pp. 220. \$3.50.

These books deal with common problems in casework and group work. They will be useful handbooks to social workers, members of boards and students. The "gobbledegools" characteristic of most social work and social science writing is entirely absent from Viola Paradise's book and appears only as a minor lapse in Louis Blumenthal's work.

Miss Paradise has undertaken to show the difficulties encountered by social caseworkers in trying to explain to the layman what they do. This is a serious matter, because the layman pays the bills and receives the service. Consequently, the clarity with which caseworkers can make their functions and methods understood has an important influence upon the effectiveness of casework. The book is based mainly upon a sort of "case history" of social casework interpretation in Cleveland. It is factual, readable and interesting.

Two things become clear as a result of Miss Paradise's analysis of the public understanding of casework. First, while caseworkers know how to use their knowledge and skill in specific cases, they have spent so little time and money on scientific study of their problems and the effects of their methods that they have accumulated very

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little verified general knowledge of either problems or methods. Second, most case-workers dropped English composition too soon when they were in college. Both of these facts contribute largely to the difficulties of interpretation.

Mr. Blumenthal undertook "to gather into a single volume the three major concerns that have pertinent bearing upon democratic administration: the process of administration, the techniques of democracy and the dynamics of individual and group behavior". This obviously was a large order. He has summarized very well the administrative processes made familiar in many books on political science and has utilized in some measure reports of the recent research of Elton Mayo and Kurt Lewin. His account of "the techniques of democracy" is also familiar. The presentation of the "dynamics of individual and group behavior" is rather abstract and hazy.

There is little in Blumenthal's book which is new. Hardly any of the issues are presented as problems for scientific study. The review of much re-stated doctrine is clearly written, but the book suffers from a paucity of verified fact.

R. CLYDE WHITE.

Western Reserve University.

Voluntary Medical Care Insurance in the United States. By Franz Goldmann. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. xi + 228. \$3.00.

Dr. Goldman offers this book as a companion volume to his earlier *Public Medical Care*. The present volume describes and analyzes the development and present state of voluntary medical care insurance and appraises the most important types of organization in the United States.

This writing has been prompted by the development of a very large number of voluntary plans during the last two decades in this country and the popularity of prepayment plans as evidenced by phenomenal membership gains. The book is an endeavor to provide the information necessary to answer two questions: Is voluntary medical care insurance here to stay? Will it even-

tually be made part of a broad national health program or succumb before legislation for compulsory health insurance?

The author sees definite limitations in voluntary medical care insurance. For example "it can provide for limited services at reasonable cost but not for complete care if the plan is operated on the basis of the individual practice of medicine and the fee-for-service method of payment". Further, that although voluntary plans may be established in all the states, they cannot reach all the self-supporting people and at the same time attain uniformity of provisions, reciprocity, and easy transfer of subscribers.

Dr. Goldman does a very effective job in pointing out the difficulties involved in properly administering public subsidization of voluntary medical insurance plans. His point seems well taken that the true potentialities of the plans lie in the greatest possible extension of the cost-sharing principle and in the combination of group practice and group prepayment.

The book is arranged in nine chapters, a bibliography, and an index. The material, some of which is highly controversial, is presented forcefully and clearly.

ROBERT L. McNAMARA.

University of Missouri.

You and Your Doctor. By Benjamin L. Miller, M. D. New York: Whittlesey House, 1948. Pp. x + 183. \$2.75.

It is a refreshing experience to read a book like this one from the pen of a medical man. Its author clearly and frankly describes the inadequacies and discrepancies in the social and economic aspects of present-day medical practice. He also prescribes improved methods of distributing medical care.

The main thesis is that the advancement of scientific medicine has outrun the general practitioner, leaving him a horse-and-buggy doctor trying to handle a helicopter. As the G. P. becomes more and more inadequate to the tasks before him, the traditional system of medical practice begins to collapse.

The solution calls for division of labor and cooperation among medical specialists organized into a national system of group practice units. The evils of overspecialization would be avoided by the development of the "pilot physician". He would be the keystone of the medical group, occupying a place somewhere between the too specialized specialist and the too unspecialized G. P. With considerable training in internal medicine and in psychiatry, the pilot doctor would diagnose and treat those conditions within his scope of competency but he would be a referral specialist directing patients to the proper specialists in the various branches of medicine.

This reorganized medical practice would be supported financially through a nationwide insurance system such as that proposed in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill.

A. R. MANGUS.

Ohio State University.

BOOKS LISTED

- America and the International Trade Organization.* By William L. Clayton et. al. Washington: Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1948. Pp. 101. \$1.00 (paper). A collection of addresses before the First 1948 Economic Institute.
- Americans From Japan.* By Bradford Smith. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1948. Pp. 430. \$5.00. A history of Japanese settlements in America emphasizing the role of the Nisei during and after the last war.
- The Annals.* Edited by Thorsten Sellin. "Parties and Politics," Edited by Charles C. Rohlfing and James C. Charlesworth (Vol. 259, Sept. 1948) Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1948. Pp. vii + 207. \$5.00 per year, \$2.00 per copy to non-members.
- A Symposium dealing with the basis of American party system, Political Party organization, the campaign and interest groups in 1948. There are in all sixteen papers by competent authors. The section on "Interest Groups" will be of great interest to rural sociologists.
- The Criminal and His Victims: Studies in the sociobiology of crime.* By Hans Von Hentig. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948. Pp. 469. \$6.00. An outline and discussion of social conditions and physical determinants of crime.
- Economic History of Europe; Rev. Ed.* By Herbert Heaton. New York: Harper & Bros., 1948. Pp. 806. \$4.50.
- The Future of the American Jew.* By Mordecai Kaplan. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948. Pp. xx + 571. \$6.00. Limited use to rural sociology.
- The Labor Force in Louisiana.* By Rudolf Heberle. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, (Planographed), 1948. Pp. x + 189. \$2.00 (paper). Analysis of the 1940 Census showing occupational and demographic characteristics, and socioeconomic status of Louisiana Labor force.
- Law on the Farm.* By W. H. Hannah. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948. Pp. 451. \$4.50. Legal information on problems which arise in the business of farming.
- The Nuba.* By S. F. Nadel. London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1947. Pp. xiv + 527. \$11.00. An Anthropological Study of the hill tribes of Kordofan as influenced by the Arabs. Has considerable appeal for rural sociologists.
- The Proper Study of Mankind.* By Stuart Chase. New York: Harper & Bros., 1948. Pp. xx + 311. \$3.00.
- Protecting Our Children From Criminal Careers.* By John R. Ellingston. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1948. Pp. 384. Trade Ed. \$5.00. Text Ed. \$3.75. A comparison of traditional with current California methods of dealing with juvenile delinquency.
- Public Letters of a Private Citizen.* By George F. Logan. New York: The William Frederick Press, 1948. Pp. 29. \$1.00 (Paper). Maintains the thesis

that a defense from Communism can come only from an economic standpoint; shows how Communism works.

The Role of the Land Grant in the Social Organization and Social Processes of a Spanish-American Village in New Mexico. By Olen E. Leonard. Ann Arbor: Edwards Bros., Inc., 1948 (Sales Agent, Texas Book Store, University Station, Austin, Texas). Pp. xii + 154. \$2.00 (Paper, Lithoprinted). A Ph. D. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1943.

Santa Cruz: Estudio Economico Social de una Region. (Trans. from English by Douglas Moore) Por Olen E. Leonard. La Paz, Bolivia: Ministerio de Agricultura, 1948. Pp. 103 (Gratis).

Social Adjustment in Old Age: A research planning report (Bull. 59) By Otto

Pollak. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1948. Pp. xi + 199. \$1.75 (Paper). A reorganized and largely rewritten edition of a mimeographed planning report on *Social Adjustment in Old Age* issued two years previously. Emphasizes definitions and categories, individual adjustments, attitudes toward and adjustments in retirement, contains a note on sampling for old age research, and a bibliography of 397 selected references.

Social Organization. By Robert Harry Lowie. New York: Rinehart, 1948. Pp. ix + 465. \$4.50. A treatise on social forms of all peoples; the potency of economic forces, ethnic relations, psychological factors, and applications of statistics.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Leland Tate

THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

PROGRAM

Congress Hotel, Chicago, December 28-30, 1948

MONDAY, DECEMBER 27

8:30- A.M. to
9:30 P.M. *Workshop Program Sponsored by Joint Committee of Rural Sociological Society and American Library Association*

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28

- 9:00-10:00 A.M. *Registration—Jointly with The American Sociological Society*
- 10:00-12:00 A.M. *Communications Research as it Relates to Library Usage—Jointly with American Library Association*
Harold Hoffsommer, Chairman
- 1:15- 3:15 P.M. *The Status of Rural Sociology*
Frank Peck, Chairman
F. D. Farrell—The Farm Foundation's Study of Rural Sociology. (A Preliminary Report.)
Bonney Youngblood—The Status of Rural Sociological Research In The Agricultural Experiment Station.
Carl C. Taylor—The Status of Rural Sociological Research In The Department of Agriculture.
Gordon Blackwell—Rural Sociological Extension.
- 3:30- 5:30 P.M. *Research Organizations at Land-Grant Colleges*
Irwin Sanders, Chairman
Reports of Sociological Research Organizations:
George Hill—University of Wisconsin
Homer L. Hitt—Louisiana State University
Paul H. Landis—State College of Washington
Charles P. Loomis—Michigan State College
Robin Williams—Cornell University
- 8:00-10:00 P.M. *Latin America—Jointly with American Sociological Society*
T. Lynn Smith, Chairman
Olen E. Leonard—Locality Grouping In Bolivia
Lowry Nelson—Social Class Structure in Cuba
Oscar Lewis—Contrasting Systems of Agriculture in a Mexican Village.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29

- 9:00-10:00 A.M. *Rural Social Structure and Value Orientation*
Robin Williams, Chairman
Vernon Parenton—A Comparison of the Rural Social Systems of Two Spatially Separated French-speaking Societies.

Charles P. Loomis—Elements and Qualities of Rural Social Systems

10:00-11:00 A.M. *Business Meeting* of The Rural Sociological Society

11:00-12:00 A.M. *Business Meeting* of The American Sociological Society

1:15- 3:15 P.M. *Implementation of Programs*—Jointly with the Society of Applied Anthropology

John Useem, Chairman

F. L. W. Richardson—Influence of Original Culture in Resettlement—The Case of a Mining Patch.

M. L. Wilson—Fitting Extension Work in its Cultural Setting.

3:30- 5:00 P.M. *Rural Social Systems*

Homer Hitt, Chairman

Odin Anderson—Incidence of Hospitalization in Rural Michigan Counties.

Carle C. Zimmerman—Effects of Social Change Upon Rural Personality.

Discussants—O. D. Duncan and Leland Tate

6:30 *Dinner Meeting and Presidential Address*

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30

9:00-12:00 A.M. *Business Meeting* of the Rural Sociological Society

1:00- 3:00 P.M. *Objectives and Methods of Rural Sociological Research in Health*

Charles E. Lively, Chairman

In Missouri—C. E. Lively

In Ohio—A. R. Mangus

In Michigan—Edgar A. Schuler and C. R. Hoffer

Discussion led by—Robert L. McNamara, Harold Dorn, Carl C. Taylor, and others.

CONSTITUTION

of the

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

December, 1948

Article I. *Name.* This organization shall be called the Rural Sociological Society.

Article II. *Objects.* The objects of this society shall be to promote development of rural sociology, through research, teaching, and extension work.

Article III. *Affiliation.* This society shall be affiliated with the American Sociological Society.

Article IV. *Members.* Any person professionally employed in the field of rural sociology or who is interested in the objects of this society, may become a mem-

ber upon the vote of the executive committee and the payment of annual dues.

Article V. *Officers.* The officers of the society shall consist of a president, a vice-president, and a secretary-treasurer, whose duties shall be those usually appertaining to those offices.

Article VI. *Executive Committee.* The Executive Committee shall consist of the officers, the retiring president, and one other member to be elected by the society. The Executive Committee shall be the governing body of the society, except insofar as the society delegates governmental functions to officers or to other committees independent of or in co-operation with the Executive Committee.

Article VII. *Elections.* The president, vice-

president, and one other member of the Executive Committee shall be elected annually by a majority of the members voting. The secretary-treasurer shall be appointed by the other members of the Executive Committee.

Article VIII. *Annual Meeting.* The society shall meet annually. The time and place of meeting shall be determined by the Executive Committee.

Article IX. *Amendments.* The constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting at any annual meeting, *provided* that written notice of any proposed amendment shall be sent to the secretary by five members of the society not later than two months before the annual meeting and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the society at least two weeks before the annual meeting.

BY-LAWS

Article I. *Membership Dues.*

SECTION 1. Any person interested in the objects of the society may become a member upon application and recommendation by a member of the society and favorable vote of the Executive Committee.

SEC. 2. The annual dues for active members shall be three dollars and fifty cents per annum, and shall entitle the member to the publications of the society. Students of educational institutions may become members upon the payment of two dollars per annum.

Article II. *Standing Committees.*

SECTION 1. There shall be three standing committees on research, teaching, and extension. Each of these committees shall be composed of three members, one to be elected each year for a term of three years in the same manner as the Executive Committee. The senior member of each committee shall act as its chairman. It shall be the duty of each of these committees to make inquiry as to the status and progress of that phase of rural sociology assigned to it, and to make such reports and recommendations to the society as it may see fit.

SEC. 2. The Executive Committee and the chairmen of the three standing committees shall constitute a Program Committee for arranging the program of the annual meeting.

Article III. *Publications.*

SECTION 1. The quarterly journal, *Rural Sociology*, shall be the official publication of the society and its management shall be vested in a board of editors to be elected by the society.

SEC. 2. The Board of Editors of *Rural Sociology* shall consist of five members, one to be elected each year for a term of five years in the same manner as the Executive Committee, and a managing editor. The Board of Editors shall elect from among its numbers an editor-in-chief, and shall appoint a managing editor to have charge of the management of the journal.

SEC. 3. Two dollars and fifty cents of the dues of each member shall be paid to the managing editor for a subscription to *Rural Sociology*.

SEC. 4. The Board of Editors of *Rural Sociology* shall submit an annual report of its receipts and expenditures and of its general policies, with a proposed budget for the ensuing year. The Board of Editors shall not obligate the society for expenditures in excess of its receipts from subscriptions, advertising, and other sources.

Article IV. *Elections.*

At the beginning of each year the president shall appoint a nominating committee of five members. This committee shall nominate two candidates for each position and report their names to the secretary before November first. Not later than November fifteenth the secretary shall mail to each member a ballot bearing the names of the two nominees for each position, which ballot to be valid shall be returned to him not later than November thirtieth in an envelope bearing the signature of the member. An election committee appointed by the president shall then canvass the ballots and shall report to the annual meeting the election of those who

have received a majority of the ballots cast.

Article V. *Vacancies.*

The Executive Committee is empowered to fill any vacancies that may occur in the committees or among the officers of the society.

Article VI. *Amendments.*

Amendments to these By-Laws may be proposed by the Executive Committee or by any member of the society, and shall be adopted by a majority vote of those present at the annual meeting, providing that the amendment shall be sent to the secretary by five members of the society not later than two months before the annual meeting and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the society at least two weeks before the annual meeting.

NAT T. FRAME

Resolution of Respect from the
Twenty-seventh Conference of the
American Country Life Association
Berea, Kentucky, July 13-15, 1948

This, the Twenty-Seventh National Country Life Conference, is the first major meeting to be conducted by the American Country Life Association without direct assistance from Nat T. Frame. No other man has equaled his record of consistent participation and support. He was one of its founders. He long served on its Board of Directors. During one of the most critical periods he served as its secretary. In the 1930's when the American people were severely feeling the economic depression he was its president. His loyalty, vision, and courage have been one of its greatest assets.

When Nat T. Frame passed on, March 22, 1948, he left a record which will long stand as a guiding beam for all who work for better country life in America. As a teacher and administrator in agricultural extension work in West Virginia, he was a pioneer in promoting programs for rural youth, for farm homes, and for more adequate rural communities. In his later years he helped carry forward research programs

clarifying the factors and setting guide posts. Throughout the nation those endeavoring to strengthen human, spiritual, and community phases of rural life respected him as a helpful consultant.

This conference, with its membership representing more than a dozen of the national and regional programs which he helped to establish and more than twenty states in which he has worked, pauses to pay respect for the long and useful career of Nat T. Frame. We ask that this resolution be published in our conference proceedings and also that a copy be forwarded to his lifetime partner and co-worker, Mrs. Nat T. Frame. We further express the hope that the time will come when an adequate record of his pioneering service will be prepared and published so that others may benefit from knowing more about this statesman and crusader for the type of rural life in America which is a first essential if we are to maintain and advance our democratic type of civilization.

The American Country Life Association held its Twenty-Seventh Annual Conference at Berea College, Berea, Kentucky, July 13-15, on the theme "Rural Policies and Policy Making". Headquarters of the Association have been established at 3166 North Eighteenth Street, Arlington, Virginia, with Paul V. Maris as Executive Secretary. Dr. Roger B. Corbett, Associate Dean, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, is president of A.C.L.A. Members of the Board of Directors elected or re-elected at Berea are: Mrs. Almer Armstrong, Howard W. Beers, R. D. Butler, Roger B. Corbett, John H. Davis, Arthur Floyd, Gunvor Johannesen, and Sherman E. Johnson.

University of Massachusetts: Dr. C. Wendell King, of Rollins College, taught a section of Introduction and Race Relations during the first six weeks of summer school. Mr. John F. Manfredi, who holds an M.A. from Harvard, has been appointed to the rank of instructor. Mr. Manfredi is completing his dissertation under the direction of Professor Talcott Parsons. Mr. Edwin Driver, who holds an M.A. from the Uni-

versity of Pennsylvania and is continuing his work toward the Ph.D. there, has also been appointed to the rank of instructor. Mr. Driver's major field of interest is Criminology. Dr. J. H. Korson has been promoted to the rank of professor.

Michigan State College.—Kenneth Tiedke of Columbia University has taken over Solon Kimball's anthropological work in the Experiment Station and Department. Kimball has resigned to become head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Alabama.

Alex Sim, last year's Hinman fellow in the department has returned to Canada where he is carrying on a study of a French Canadian community. Eduardo Arze, State Department fellow in rural sociological extension methods, returned to Bolivia after having completed his work for the master's degree. Graduate research assistantships for use in the area program research evaluation work of the department were awarded to Reed Powell, now in Costa Rica, Alex Sim, and Wade Andrews. Teaching and extension assistantships were awarded to the following: Faye Blakeley, Walter Boek, Betsy Castleberry, Linwood Hodgdon, Fu-Ju Liu, Joseph H. Locke, Sheldon Lowry, Clara H. Lowe, and Thomas Poffenberger.

Christopher Sower worked with Dr. Ray Mangus on a cooperative project in the Division of Mental Hygiene, Ohio Department of Public Welfare, during the month of August.

C. P. Loomis, head of the department, has been elected president of the Society for Applied Anthropology.

A list of publications of the Social Research Service and the Agricultural Experiment Station is now available. Among items included are monographs and reports on Health by E. A. Schuler and C. R. Hoffer; Educational Sociology by Wilbur Brookover and Fred Thaden; Marriage and the Family, by Judson Landis; Farm Labor Conditions and Membership Relations of Cooperatives by Duane Gibson; Rural-Urban Fringe by Christopher Sower; Extension methods and Research by Paul Miller; Population,

Sociometry and Acculturation by Allan Beegle and C. P. Loomis.

Purdue University.—A. Kimball Romney has been appointed temporary instructor in sociology, taking the place of Walter Hirsch, who has been granted a year's leave of absence for graduate study. Mr. Romney completed his Masters' Degree in sociology at Brigham Young University last June. He was in summer school at the University of Southern California this past summer.

The sociology curriculum has been revised and expanded to meet the needs of a growing department. The Masters' Degree is now being offered, and there are a number of Graduate Assistantships open. Those interested should apply to the chairman, Harold T. Christensen.

Mississippi State College.—Harald A. Pedersen, who will soon complete his work for the doctorate at the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed assistant professor of rural sociology. Mr. Pedersen will engage in research and teaching, and is the second staff member to be added since the work in this field was inaugurated in July.

The first research project to be initiated deals with the movement and employment opportunities of the rural population of the State. Population research is one of several fields in which coordination and cooperative endeavors are being planned with the Department of Sociology at the University of Mississippi.

University of Missouri.—Robert L. McNamara has joined the staff with the rank of professor. He will head the experiment station research in rural health and do some teaching. Dr. McNamara comes to Missouri from Oklahoma A. & M. College.

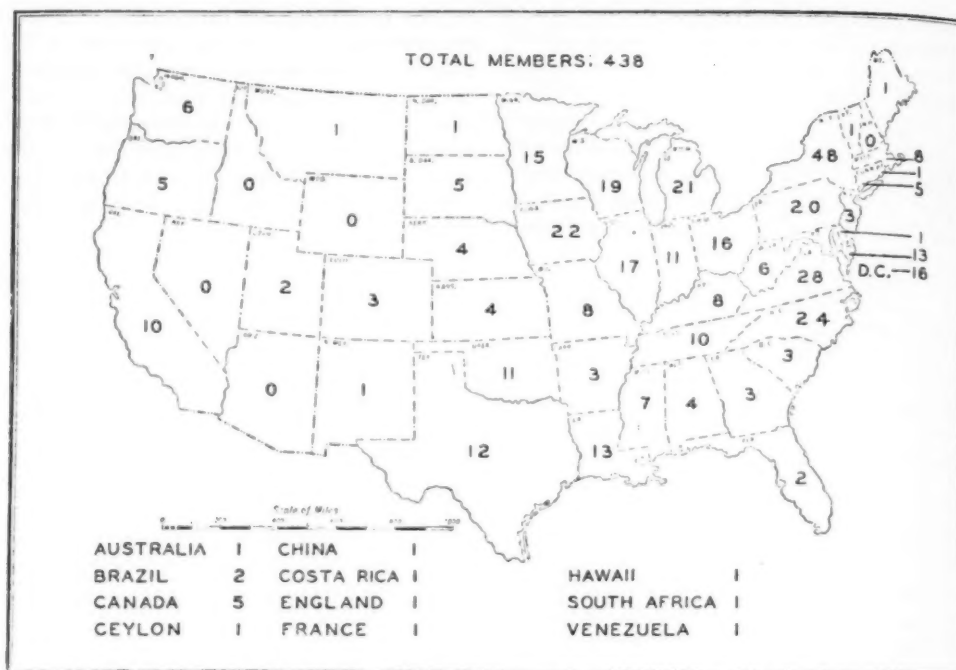
John B. Mitchell of Osceola, Arkansas, has been appointed part-time instructor. He holds the B.S. degree in Agriculture and the M.A. degree in Rural Sociology from Louisiana State University.

Asst. Professor Herbert F. Lionberger has just published Experiment Station Research Bulletin No. 413, entitled, "Low In-

come Farmers in Missouri: Situation and Characteristics of 459 Farm Operators in Four Social Area B Counties". It represents the first of a series on this subject.

C. L. Gregory is at present supervising a resurvey of the St. Francois river flood control project at Waynesville, Missouri. Eight years ago when the flood control dam was built, he surveyed the situation and devised

a plan for the removal of families from the flooded area. The present resurvey of the human effects of the project is being financed from Governor Donnelly's special flood control fund, and is being made in cooperation with the State Division of Resources and Development. Miss Zetta Bankert is in charge of the field work and tabulations.



MEMBERS IN THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1948

Compared With Four Previous Years

Class	1948	1947	1946	1945	1944
Total	438	424	400	399	358
Active-professional	349	339	340	348	298
Student members	83	78	52	40	38
Joint members	4	1	4	1	1
Contributing members	2	5	3	2	1
Honorary members	0	1	1	1	1

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP LIST, 1948

ALABAMA

Andrews, Henry L.	Box 797	University
Gomillion, Charles G.	Box 31	Tuskegee Institute
Neal, Ernest E.	Tuskegee Institute	Tuskegee
Nunn, Alexander	Progressive Farmer	Birmingham 2

ARKANSAS

Charlton, J. L.	University of Arkansas	Fayetteville
Ewbank, John R.	Philander Smith College	Little Rock
Hudson, Gerald T.	University of Arkansas	Fayetteville

CALIFORNIA

Andersen, Martin P.	University of California	Los Angeles 24
Anderson, C. Arnold	University of California	Berkeley 4
Atterbury, Marguerite	Box 57	San Marcos
Griffin, F. L.	University of California	Davis
*Kajjian, Ara	Route 1, Box 315	Fowler
Metzler, William H.	222 Mercantile Building	Berkeley 4
*Phillips, Jack	714 W. California Street	Pasadena 2
Taylor, Paul S.	University of California	Berkeley 4
*Vucinich, A. S.	Stanford University	Stanford
Young, Earle F.	Route 6—414	Modesto

COLORADO

Hodgson, James G.	Box 275	Fort Collins
Kloepfer, Herman J.	956 Marine Street	Boulder
Stetts, Herbert E.	Iliff School of Theology	Denver

CONNECTICUT

Hypes, J. L.	Storrs
McKain, Walter C., Jr.	University of Connecticut	Storrs
Webb, V. H.	University of Connecticut	Storrs
Whetten, Nathan L.	University of Connecticut	Storrs
Woodward, Ralph L.	409 Prospect Street	New Haven

DELAWARE

Thomasson, M. E.	Delaware State College	Dover
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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Beck, P. G.	4716 Harrison Street, N. W.	Washington 15
Belshaw, H.	1201 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.	Washington 6
Bowles, Gladys K.	1703 Bay Street, S. E.	Washington 3
Clark, Lois M.	1201 Sixteenth St. N. W.	Washington 6
Ducoff, Louis J.	1302 Saratoga Ave. N. E.	Washington 18
Ellickson, J. C.	3420 McKinley	Washington 15
Fitzwater, C. O.	1201 16th St. N. W.	Washington
Folsom, Josiah C.	Bureau of Agricultural Economics	Washington 25

* Student Member

Hagood, Margaret Jarman
 Manovill, Robert J.
 Nichols, Ralph R.
 Niederfrank, E. J.
 Rose, John Kerr
 Rossoff, Milton
 Wells, Oris V.
 Yang, Ellwood Hsin-Pao

Bureau of Agricultural Economics Washington 25
 Dairy Industries Society Washington
 Bureau of Agricultural Economics Washington 25
 Extension Service, U.S.D.A. Washington 25
 1308 16th Street, N. W. Washington 6
 2712—29th Street, S. E. Washington 20
 Bureau of Agricultural Economics Washington 25
 1209 Trinidad Ave. N. E. Washington

Alleger, Daniel E.

FLORIDA
 Florida Agricultural Experiment Station Gainesville
 Florida State College for Women Tallahassee

McClain, Howard G.
 McMahan, C. A.
 Williams, B. O.

GEORGIA
 Mercer University Macon
 165 Springdale Street Athens
 University of Georgia Athens

Bailey, Dwight L.
 Butt, Rev. E. Dargan
 Cummins, Rev. Ralph
 Folse, Clinton L.
 Lindstrom, David E.
 Mueller, Rev. E. W.
 Obenhaus, Victor
 Petroff, Louis

ILLINOIS
 Western Illinois State College Macomb
 600 Haven St. Evanston
 809 South Fifth Street Champaign
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Ratliffe, S. C.
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 607½ West Elm Street Champaign
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INDIANA
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Timmons, John F.
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517 Stanton Street
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University of Kentucky
109 East Broadway
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*Bedsale, George W., Jr.
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Southeastern Louisiana College
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Baker, O. E.
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University of Maryland
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 125 Stoddard Avenue
 Box 986
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East Lansing
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MINNESOTA

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Box 603

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Johansen, Sigurd	NEW MEXICO	State College
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Fisher, Elliott L.	150 Fifth Avenue	New York 11
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*Gantz, Mary	4683 Park Avenue	Bronx 58
Graham, Harry L.	1306 State Tower Building	Syracuse 2
*Guthrie, Gersilda	1230 Amsterdam Avenue	New York
*Halloul, F. S.	Cornell University	Ithaca
Hatch, David and Mary Alice	840 Salt Springs Road	Syracuse
Infield, Henrik F.	Rural Settlement Institute	Poughkeepsie
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*Lansdale, Bruce M.	Cornell University	Ithaca
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Box 3127
 Box 430
 Box 36
 104 Park Drive
 Oklahoma A. & M. College
 Oklahoma A. & M. College
 403 Whithurst Hall
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Oklahoma City 5
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Bakkum, Glenn A.
 Burleigh, Howard V.
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521 North 35 Street
 2343 North East 21st Street
 Northwest Christian College
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Corvallis
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Blizzard, Samuel W., Jr.
 *Brown, Emory J.
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Pennsylvania State College
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 RFD No. 2, Box 275
 310 West 11th Street
 240 Woodland Drive
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 321 Spring Avenue
 Box 198
 Route 1, Box 245 A
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 234 East Hamilton Avenue
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*Ingram, Wm. T., Jr.	Bethel College	McKenzie
Johnson, Collus O.	2102 N. Broadway	Knoxville
Murray, Christopher P.	413 Commerce Avenue	Knoxville 16
Price, Paul H.	Vanderbilt University	Nashville 4
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TEXAS

*Baumbach, Bernard C.	706 East 47th Street	Austin
Bertrand, John R.	Texas A. and M. College	College Station
Biddison, Olive M.	Box 1957	San Antonio
Brooks, Melvin S.	Texas A. and M. College	College Station
Davis, Dan R.	Texas A. and M. College	College Station
Firey, Walter	University of Texas	Austin 12
Leonard, Olen E.	University of Texas	Austin
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*Wendt, Robert	204 North Carroll Avenue Apt. 1	Dallas 1

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VIRGINIA

Almack, Ronald B.	2917 Chamberlayne Ave. Apt 5	Richmond 22
*Blume, George T.	Virginia Tech. Station	Blacksburg
Ensminger, Douglas	4827 North 27th Place	Arlington
Eure, Werdna W.	V.P.I. Extension Service	Blacksburg
Garnett, W. E.	Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station	Blacksburg
Gee, Wilson	University of Virginia	Charlottesville
*Hale, Rita C.	Box 151, Route No. 1	Blacksburg
Harris, Marshall	4641 24th Street North	Arlington
Hoover, Edith G.	Marion College	Marion
Hummel, B. L.	Virginia Polytechnic Institute	Blacksburg
Maris, Paul V.	3166 North 18th Street	Arlington
*Keiter, William L.	Box A-34d-Va. Tech.	Blacksburg
Mace, Almon T.	2969 South Columbus Street	Arlington
Mason, John E.	2012 North Kenilworth Street	Arlington
Mears, Murphy C.	202 Elm Avenue S. W.	Roanoke
Pohlmann, Kenneth E.	4611 30th Road	South Arlington

* Student Member

Raper, Arthur
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 Wileden, A. F.

* Student Member
 † Deceased

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 Virginia State College
 Box 392
 3463-B South Utah Street
 3211 North Woodrow Street
 3209 South 12th Street
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WASHINGTON

State College of Washington
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 1904 Monroe Street
 Box 478

WEST VIRGINIA

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 Box 896
 1303 Summit Drive
 University of West Virginia
 Box 742

WISCONSIN

University of Wisconsin
 Box 387
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 1817 Kendall Avenue
 University of Wisconsin
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Rothberg, Maurice	43 The Blvd. North Balwyn E 9	Melbourne, Vic.
-------------------	-------------------------------	-----------------

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*Freitas-Marcondes, J. V.	Rua Henrique Schaumann N 561	Sao Paulo
Leao, A. Carneiro	Rua Fernando, Osorio 19, Apt. 401	Rio de Janeiro

CANADA

*Freisen, John K.	Wheat Pool Building	Winnipeg, Manitoba
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Heron, John R.	The Royal Bank of Canada	Montreal
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*Sim, R. Alex	Macdonald College	Quebec, Box 218
Younge, Eva R.	3600 University Street	Montreal 2

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